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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF VITTORIO CARPACCIO

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The Presentation of the Infant Christ in the Temple.
Altarpiece painted for the Church of S. Giobbe, Venice.
Venice Academy.

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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF VITTORIO CARPACCIO

BY POMPEO MOLMENTI
AND
THE LATE GUSTAV LUDWIG

TRANSLATED BY
ROBERT H. HOBART CUST
AUTHOR OF "GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZI"

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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TO

MY DEAR WIFE

IN MEMORY OF MUCH VALUABLE HELP

GIVEN TOWARDS ITS COMPLETION AND AS AN EARNEST OF

MANY FUTURE HAPPY HOURS IN COLLABORATION

THIS TRANSLATION IS

AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

"Of all things do go to the little chapel of S. Giorgio di Schiavoni, where the Carpaccios are. The tiniest church that ever was, like a very small London drawing-room—but with pictures!!! And whenever you see him give him my love, and whenever you see Bellini give him my adoration, for none is like him;—John, that is, for his brother I only respect."—*Extract from a letter to Lady Lewis.* "*Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones,*" vol. ii., pp. 334-5. London: Macmillan, 1904.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

TO present in another language the researches of two such eminent scholars as the late Herr Gustav Ludwig and Prof. Pompeo Molmenti is, I am aware, a bold undertaking, but the friendly sympathy and kindness of the survivor of these two distinguished writers have greatly encouraged me in completing my task. It is obvious that a verbal translation would have been both impossible from a literary point of view and unfair to the original authors. I believe however that, while throwing the whole material into an English form, I have nowhere deviated from the facts or opinions expressed in the Italian version. It was perhaps for this reason an advantage that I had myself no deep knowledge either of Carpaccio's life or of his work, beyond a great admiration for it as seen in Venice. Consequently, I have been able to sit at the feet of the learned writers whose work it is my privilege to present here: and I trust that the result of my attention to their teachings may not be altogether uninteresting or fruitless to those to whom the original work is a sealed book. As the authors have occasion to remark, the revival of interest in this delightful artist is comparatively recent; but it has grown, as it deserved to grow, rapidly: so much so that among the many attractions to Venice Carpaccio's Cycles

of S. George, S. Jerome, and S. Ursula, now take a very prominent position.

At the last moment while this work was in the press Prof. Molmenti forwarded to me information regarding further discoveries at Zara, embodied in an illustrated article by him entitled "On some Paintings preserved in the City of Zara and attributed to Carpaccio" (*Di Alcuni Quadri custoditi nella Città di Zara e attribuiti al Carpaccio*), published in the *Emporium*, vol. xxiii. No. 136, Aprile, 1906. It was unfortunately impossible to enlarge the present volume in order to take in this new material, but the student can refer to it without serious difficulty from the reference here given.

In conclusion I have to thank for material help in preparing this work Miss M. Mansfield and Mr. Henry Burton.

R. H. H. C.

FLORENCE,
14th February, 1907.

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PREFACE

I MUST ask the kind indulgence of the reader if I set down here a few personal recollections, not in a spirit of self-advertisement, but with the intention of showing how much of this book is due to myself and how much to my dear friend and respected collaborator, GUSTAV LUDWIG.

Some five-and-twenty years since, the school of Modern Venetian Art, in a burst of renewed vigour, cast off the trammels of worn-out academic formalism and drew fresh strength from Nature—freely but carefully studied in all her moods. A group of young painters combined their untiring quest for truth with a passionate devotion to two craftsmen of the past, Carpaccio and Tiepolo. The tender light of the dawn of Venetian painting as well as the effulgent radiance of its decline aroused in them feelings similar in their force and in their lofty aspiration; and thus Tiepolo and Carpaccio, both so great and yet so unlike in their greatness, were linked together by these young men in a common bond of admiration. Living as I did in daily intercourse with these my contemporaries, sharing their enthusiasm and their intellectual conditions, I delivered a lecture on Carpaccio[1] in 1881, which I followed up four years later with a book entitled *Il Carpaccio e il Tiepolo*.[2] The lecture is a mere piece of academic rhetoric, worthless as criticism; and little more can be said for the book, in which artistic enthusiasm hardly compensates for the absence of new material.

These youthful labours of mine were succeeded in 1893 by another essay on Carpaccio, written in French,[3] in which I can at least claim to have contributed some new facts to the story of the painter's life. Henceforward, shaping a steadier course, I combined my researches and published the results in a number of periodicals

[1] *Vittore Carpaccio.* A Lecture delivered on August 7th, 1881, at the Academy of Fine Arts in Venice. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1881.

[2] Turin: Roux, 1885.

[3] *Carpaccio, son Temps et son Œuvre.* Venise: Ongania, MDCCCXCIII.

and in a paper read before the Venetian Institute of Science, Literature and Art.[1]

My devotion to Carpaccio brought me the noblest of all rewards —the friendship of Gustav Ludwig.

Gustav Ludwig was born at Bad Nauheim in 1852, of a worthy and prosperous family, which had already obtained distinction in the person of his uncle, Carl Ludwig the physiologist. Gustav, after finishing his school days at Darmstadt, followed his father's example and adopted the medical profession, which he pursued with honour and success in England as assistant-physician to the German Hospital in London. During the twenty years that he resided there he not only attended to his professional duties with that diligence and earnestness which he threw into all that he undertook, but he also found time in his few hours of leisure to devote himself to the study of art, visiting picture-galleries both public and private, and giving advice and assistance in the foundation of the important Henry Doetsch Collection, which was sold by auction in London in 1895. In that same year the malady which henceforward cast a shadow of pain over Ludwig's entire existence became manifest, so that to alleviate his sufferings he obeyed his inclinations in pursuit of art, and left England for a course of European travel, visiting all the most important museums, and laying up valuable stores of information, both personal and documentary.

Attracted principally by the Venetian School of painting, which he had already learned to admire in the galleries north of the Alps, he came to Venice with a view to studying it more in detail; and, finding that the mild and temperate climate was beneficial to his health, he established himself there, and, so far as affection can confer nationality, became a Venetian. His simple habits were satisfied with a modest room at the Hotel Cappello Nero, near the Piazza di S. Marco, and there, half-buried among piles of books, papers and photographs, carried away in spirit to the merry days of the careless past, he found his happiness.

Tall and dignified in person, showing no outward sign of the terrible scourge which was slowly eating away his strength, Ludwig attracted the respect and admiration of all who came in contact with him; but he preferred to spend a retired existence, enjoying the society of a small circle of friends. His real life was lived in the kingdom of Art, to which he devoted all his powers of intellect and imagination. His days were passed either in the galleries, minutely examining pictures, or among the archives at the Frari, untiring in the search for new documents which might throw

[1] *La Patria dei Carpaccio* (*Atti del R. Ist. Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, Serie VII., t. iii. Venice, 1892).

light upon the lives of painters. In the brief period of respite granted to him by his infirmities, he travelled about the Venetian *Terraferma*, following up clues and investigating the work of those artists of the golden Renascence who had left their native cities to offer the fruits of their genius to the Queen of the Lagoons as a tribute of filial loyalty. Scant and shadowy is our knowledge of the early Venetian masters and, while the light of their genius shines clear for all to see in the works which they have left us, the detailed story of their lives has been made known to us only by the patient investigation of modern critics, among whom Gustav Ludwig must always take a prominent place.

The first result of Ludwig's researches was the publication of documents bearing on the Vivarini and the painters of Murano, and on the Bastiani family, in which he was assisted by Professor Pietro Paoletti.[1] His subsequent publications on his own account in the *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* for 1901-4 comprised a series of monographs on Bonifazio Pitati of Verona and his school (1901-2), the *Madonna del Mare* (so-called) of Giambellino in the Uffizi (1902), Antonello da Messina and the Flemish artists in Venice (1902), the Bergamasque painters in Venice (1903), Sebastiano Luciani, and finally Titian and his various versions of *The Marriage at Cana of Galilee* (1904). To other periodicals he contributed writings of minor importance—all, however, replete with patient research and constructive criticism, which served to demolish time-honoured errors and to bring to light unknown facts; endowing with renewed life a notable, but less known aspect of the early artistic life of Venice. And, as though he were hastening to make the best possible use of his life before he was overtaken by the early death which he himself foresaw, he bent with unwearied energy to the study of the lives and works of the Venetian painters and produced a series of essays dealing with Venetian houses, their decoration, and the Industrial Arts of the period. But it was not permitted to him to complete more than a portion of these curious and valuable sidelights upon the history of manners, which was published after his untimely death by the German *Kunsthistorisches Institut* established in Florence.

The similarity of our interests and enthusiasms deepened my friendship with this remarkable man, and in our long hours of conversation it was always the figure of Carpaccio that presented itself to our eyes, dimly perceived through the luminous visions of his painting and the mists of scanty historical knowledge, to which, however, Ludwig had added fresh material in an article published in 1897 on the work of the artist in the *Scuola degli Albanesi*.[2]

[1] *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1899–1900.
[2] *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, Serie II., Anno III., fasc. vi. Rome, 1897.

Our untrammelled discussions and arguments only served to strengthen on both sides a friendship averse to mere complimentary acquiescence; and soon the idea took root in our minds of joining forces in the composition of a monograph, as complete as might be, upon our favourite painter. Of this our joint work there appeared a first instalment in 1903 in French, which included a dissertation upon the *S. Ursula* Cycle of paintings.[1]

The success of this publication and the discussion to which it gave rise encouraged us to prosecute our labour with renewed vigour, it being our intention that the complete work should appear in Italian.

The enthusiasm of my poor friend grew ever more intense, despite the increasing severity of his malady, which had now become complicated by an affection of the heart. He bore indescribable pain with the strength of Christian resignation allied with Stoic self-control. One had but to see how bravely and almost joyfully he met his fate to be convinced of the height to which human courage can rise. Yet more than the memory of his mastermind, the sense of his generosity and modesty, the signal qualities above all others of this remarkable nature, must always remain vividly present to those who enjoyed his friendship. Even from that far region whither, in Dante's words, "none can pass with the hope of return," there appears to me the lifelike semblance of the man, who left behind him a remembrance inextinguishable by time and an example of sterling rectitude indelibly impressed upon the soul.

He lived simply and without ostentation, pure and true of heart, self-respecting and unfailing in consideration of others. Although somewhat inclined to melancholy, he unbent occasionally, and the shafts of his Attic wit found their mark with unerring aim. Whilst judicious in counsel and gentle in his judgment of men and things, he could be stirred to enthusiasm for a noble cause, to an outburst of indignation at meanness or deceit. Envy and jealousy he knew not. Ever ready in counsel and assistance to the student who had recourse to his experience, he always shunned publicity, caring nothing for that celebrity which endures but for the brief space of a day. No word of complaint ever passed his lips, but, dissembling his sufferings, he begged his friends, when distressed on his account, to take courage. Many a time, after a night of dreadful agony, hardly mitigated by repeated injections of morphia, he would tell his early morning visitors that he felt "pretty well," adding that no one could be so wretched but that he might be worse, repeating in his heart, perhaps, the

[1] *Vittore Carpaccio et la Confrérie de Sainte Ursule à Venise.* Florence: Bemporad, 1903.

words of Holy Writ, "Who fears the frost, upon him shall fall the snow."[1]

In the midst of his sufferings he raised his thoughts to images of beauty, and sought comfort and distraction in the Art he loved so well. From the bed, whence he was not to rise again, he discussed artistic problems, in which he always displayed an acute and profound judgment. I was a frequent visitor to the dark little room, where, seated at his bedside, our discussions on Carpaccio made the hours fly in cheerful converse. I used afterwards to return home and commit to paper all that I could remember of his valuable remarks. Thus the book upon the great Venetian painter grew under our hands, and with the guidance of my learned collaborator and with carefully collected documents, the greater number of which he had himself accumulated, I had by this time written the chapters dealing with Lazzaro Bastiani and his school, the life and work of Vittore Carpaccio up to the Scuola di Sant' Orsola and the paintings which adorned it.

At this point, when the proofs so far had undergone a painstaking revision upon his part, one day—alas!—I received at my country hermitage a telegram from a mutual friend, Giulio Cantalamessa, which brought me the mournful intelligence that my dear friend Gustav was dying, and that if I wished to see him once more I must not delay. Hurrying to Venice I found the sufferer sitting up in bed, the oppression not allowing him to lie down. To the varied ailments that for many years had assailed him, acute nephritis and pulmonary swelling had supervened, ills against which science was of no avail. For three nights I watched beside his bed in company with the Archpriest of San Marco, Monsignor Ferdinando Apollonio, who piously tendered spiritual comfort to the sufferer. Amid the affliction of his drawn-out agony, whilst I with difficulty restrained my tears, I heard my poor friend murmur softly many times one single word—"Carpaccio." Was it a brief return of the soul from its wanderings to things most dear that it would never see again? or perhaps the desire to express as if by testament that he wished me to continue the work already commenced? I know not; but when next day (January 16th, 1905) all sufferings ceased I thought to render a final tribute of reverence to the friend who lay lifeless before me in forming the solemn resolution to continue our joint work alone. It may be that in so doing I presumed too much upon my own capacity, believing that I could bring so arduous an undertaking to a close without the safe guidance of my comrade in study.

Our joint work was interrupted at Chapter VII., which deals

[1] "Qui timent pruinam, irruet super eos nix," Job. vi. 16 (*Vulgate*).

with the paintings of Carpaccio in the *Scuola degli Schiavoni.* Abundant notes were left me for this series of paintings, whilst landmarks for the Cycle of the *Life of the Virgin* in the *Scuola degli Albanesi* had been set for me in the Essay previously published by Ludwig in the *Archivio Storico dell'Arte.* On the other hand, I had collected but few *data* concerning the paintings for the *Scuola di San Stefano* and *San Giovanni Evangelista,* and none at all for the other pictures and drawings by Carpaccio dispersed in many collections. But the photographs of almost all his drawings and paintings remained, and these with liberal courtesy were lent me by the German Institute in Florence, to which Ludwig had devised them, together with his valuable collection of manuscripts, notes and catalogues. The support of this worthy institution, and the encouragement and counsel of Dr. George Gronau, to whom above all I owe the most lively gratitude, the assistance also of Dr. Wilhelm Bode and Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, have enabled me to bring my task to a conclusion in the volume which now sees the light, in an edition to which the publisher Signor Carlo Hoepli has given his best and most careful attention.

I have deemed it my duty to describe in detail how this book was begun and ended, so that the reader may understand that if the second part does not appear to him equal to the first the fault lies not with Gustav Ludwig, but with one who, deprived of his able co-operator, has endeavoured to finish the work, with the sole desire of fulfilling the request of his dead friend, and of rendering a tribute of honour and love to his memory.

POMPEO MOLMENTI.

MONIGA DEL GARDA, *August* 1905.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE.—*The photographs reproduced in this volume are printed by permission of the firms of Comm. V. Alinari and Giacomo Brogi of Florence, of Cav. Naya of Venice, of Filippi (also of Venice), and of Anderson of Rome, to whom I tender my thanks.*

U. HOEPLI.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF THE PRINCIPAL WORKS BY VITTORE CARPACCIO[1]

1. **1472.** It is in this year that we find the first allusion to Carpaccio in the Will of Fra Ilario, who mentions his nephew Vittore. (See Documents, pp. 235 and 239.)
2. (?) Carpaccio's first painting: *SS. Catherine and Veneranda.* Verona Museum.
3. (?) *Madonna and Child with the little S. John.* Städel Institute, Frankfort.
4. **1490.** *S. Ursula's Arrival at Cologne for the Second Time.* Venice Academy.
5. **1491.** *The Apotheosis of S. Ursula.* Venice Academy.
6. **1493.** *S. Ursula's Martyrdom and Obsequies.* Venice Academy.
7. **1494.** (?) *The Arrival of the Ambassadors at the Palace of S. Ursula's Father.* Venice Academy.
8. „ (?) *Their Departure.* Venice Academy.
9. „ (?) *Their Return to the King of England.* Venice Academy.
10. **1495.** *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair.* Venice Academy.
11. „ The similar subject. Layard Gallery, Venice.
12. „ *S. Ursula's Dream.* Venice Academy.
13. **1496.** *S. Ursula's Arrival in Rome.* Venice Academy.
14. „ *Christ with the Symbols of His Passion.* Imperial Gallery, Vienna.
15. {1498 to 1500. (?)} *The Patriarch of Grado casts out a Devil.* Venice Academy.
16. **1502.** *The Call of S. Matthew.* S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni. In this same year Carpaccio painted in the Ducal Palace the pictures destroyed by the conflagration of 1577.
17. „ (?) *Christ in the Garden.* S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni.
18. „ *The Death of S. Jerome.* Ditto.
19. „ (?) *S. Jerome and the Lion.* Ditto.
20. „ (?) *The Holy Family.* Caen Public Gallery.
21. **1504.** The scenes from the *Life of the Virgin* for the Scuola degli Albanesi.
22. **1505.** (?) *S. Jerome in his Oratory.* S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni.
23. „ (?) *S. George killing the Dragon.*
24. „ (?) A similar subject. S. Giorgio Maggiore.
25. **1506.** (?) *The Triumph of S. George.* S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni.

[1] We have here entered those works of which the date is certain or at least according to our arguments approximated.

26. 1507. Carpaccio employed at the Ducal Palace along with Giovanni Bellini.
27. „ *S. Thomas Aquinas and other Saints.* Stuttgart Gallery.
28. 1508. *S. George baptizing the Heathen.* S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni.
29. „ *The Death of the Virgin.* Ferrara Museum.
30. „ *S. Tryphonius liberates the Emperor's Daughter from a Demon.* S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni.
31. 1510. The San Giobbe Altarpiece. Venice Academy.
32. „ (?) *The Two Courtezans.* Museo Civico, Venice.
33. 1511. *The Ordination of the Seven Deacons.* Berlin Museum.
34. 1514. *S. Stephen's Dispute with the Doctors.* Brera Gallery, Milan.
35. „ The Altarpiece at San Vitale. S. Vitale, Venice.
36. „ The Altarpiece for Santa Fosca. Two fragments in the Strossmayer Collection at Zagabria.
37. 1515. *The Martyrdom of S. Stephen.* Stuttgart Gallery.
38. „ *The Ten Thousand Martyrs.* Venice Academy.
39. „ *The Meeting of SS. Joachim and Anna.* Venice Academy.
40. „ (?) *A Procession of Cross-bearers.* Venice Academy.
41. „ (?) Fragment of a *Crucifixion.* Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
42. 1516. *The Lion of S. Mark.* Ducal Palace, Venice.
43. „ The Altarpiece in the Cathedral at Capodistria.
44. 1518. The Altarpiece in the Church of San Francesco at Pirano.
45. 1519. The Painting in the Averoldi Gallery at Brescia. Drawing for this in the Dresden Gallery.
46. „ The Altarpiece in the Church at Pozzale in Cadore.
47. „ (?) *The Burial of Christ.* Berlin Museum.
48. 1520. *The Preaching of S. Stephen.* Louvre, Paris.
49. „ *S. Paul.* San Domenico, Chioggia.
50. 1523. Carpaccio executes certain work for the Patriarch of Venice.

INTRODUCTION

THE more ancient mosaics in S. Mark's would suggest to the observer that no School of Art in Italy is more mystic and symbolic in its origin than that of Venice. The walls of the great sanctuary of the Republic are overlaid with gold; ascetic saints, austere prophets and emaciated virgins, their gaze lost in the Infinite, stand forth from an ideal background entirely of gold, representing the radiance of the Empyrean seen through the rifts of the blue vault of heaven. The single figures stand alone, seemingly without relation one to another, in a cold and transcendent aloofness which would seem to exclude any tenderness of feeling from their hearts and render them inaccessible to any prayer that could ascend towards them from this earth.

This mode of pictorial representation, where symbolism is so closely allied to the artist's vision, seems scarcely to embody the Art of that hard-working community of active and practical men who drew their livelihood exclusively from trade and traffic. All, however, becomes clear if we remember that at the outset of Venetian life Art was not of indigenous growth, but rather an importation from Byzantium; although it was in Venice that the imaginative features of Byzantine Art, filled with symbolism and wealth of fancy, attained its greatest brilliance. When in later ages all Italy awoke to the cult of Classic Antiquity, in Venice also the Art of Painting forsook the immaterial world of the ideal for regions more akin to reality. With the revival of the sense of form a host of lovely figures invaded the churches, bearing with them, potentially at least, the feelings, joys and sorrows of this present world. The backgrounds of the paintings no longer represent Infinity but are limited by the laws of space, and Madonnas of benign and gentle mien receive the homage of the faithful from niches ornamented with mosaics, sculpture and oriental lamps. The Madonna is attended by Saints, still imperfect in form and somewhat awkward in treatment, yet the expression of whose countenances is not devoid of

sentiment. Beings transported to heaven by the contemplation of the Beatific Vision, their faces and attitudes and the gorgeous tints of their vesture strike, as it were, a chord of harmony attuned to a solemn hymn of adoration. And this musical harmony, to which the entire composition owes its unity, is perhaps unconsciously symbolized by the angel-players on divers instruments on the steps of the Virgin's throne, who seem to herald the glorious coming of the New Birth.

Thus we pass from the Infancy of Art to its Adolescence. The Madonnas begin to move with greater freedom, the kindly life-blood circulates with greater warmth in the countenances of the Saints, who step out of their darkened niches to revel in air and light and to wonder at the sea and the sky. Their gaze of devout adoration rests upon the Virgin, who presents to them the lovely Child at play with the little S. John; they engage in spiritual converse or allow their benevolent glance to fall upon the worshippers kneeling at their feet. Moreover these "Sacred Conversations," of an almost homely intimacy, have for their background buildings and landscapes of a characteristic Venetian type.

Pictorial Art, in fact, mirrored the civil and political life of Venice. The social evolution out of mediævalism was here completed more rapidly than elsewhere; and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the policy of other Italian states was invisibly leading them into servitude, the civic institutions of Venice were far in advance of those of the rest of the peninsula. "So great was the fame that she enjoyed throughout the world," wrote Sanudo later, "that a desire to see her and learn her methods of government was universal."

The pursuit of wealth did not lessen the love of these people for great things, and they understood how to combine knowledge of the arts with their appreciation of industry and conquest. The highest form of praise accorded to the Doge on mounting the throne was that "he had been a great merchant in his youth" (*el xe sta gran merchadante in zoventù*). Yet these merchants would welcome the learned with every courtesy: the arrivals of Giorgio Trapezunzio (1459), "a man of mark" (*homo preclaro*), who presented his Latin translation of Plato's *Laws*,[1] and of Cardinal Bessarion, who gave his library of Greek and Latin books to the Signoria in 1468, are recorded with joyous satisfaction. Academies were founded for learned discussion, and positions of honour and emolument were bestowed upon the painters who depicted in the halls of the Great Council the glorious victories of the Republic. Greed of gain and practical considerations failed alike to extinguish the divine spark

[1] Malipiero, *Annals* P. V. (Arch. Stor. R. T. vii. p. 11, 1844).

in these merchant souls or to render less fervid their sense of justice and honour. Patriotism had become part of their religion; sacred legend was interwoven with national history; and the claims of daily work were never found at variance with their native instinct for poetry. Shrewd sense goes hand in hand with profound piety. The populace, when danger threatens Venice, flies to arms in the Piazza; at other times festive throngs gather in solemn procession and parade the streets, devoutly bearing the relics of their Patron Saints. Remote alike from sceptical indifference or ascetic fury, the light-hearted Venetian temperament would rob the very mysteries of Faith of all their sombre austerity. Here the words of the Monk of Ferrara would have found no echo; nor could the Piazza of S. Mark ever have witnessed the burning of admirable paintings and sculptures, manuscripts and works of art to teach the popular mind contempt of mundane vanities. On the pyre raised by Savonarola in the Piazza della Signoria were laid goods of great price, works of the best painters and sculptors, poetry both in Latin and in the vernacular, figures and toys of ivory and alabaster, "such that a Venetian merchant," writes Burlamacchi, "offered the Signoria twenty thousand *scudi* for them all; for which he obtained the reward that his effigy was made life-size and placed on the top of that pile upon a throne, as being the lord of all these vanities."[1] Intended as a mark of infamy, it was instead a title to fame: Venice by the mouth of one of her citizens spoke a word of sound sense against the excesses of fanaticism.

From their conquests abroad the Venetians always took care to bring back to their native land such works of art, statues, columns and capitals as they could secure; and with splendid gifts they induced Greek masters of mosaic to work in the church of S. Mark, that sanctuary of the nation where the triumphs of the Republic found expression in solemn religious ceremonies. Devoid of any indigenous artistic tradition, Venice absorbed those of East and West, made them her own, and gave them a national character which developed with a magnificence unknown elsewhere. Here, amid the splendours of the sky and the reflections of the waters, architecture expresses the character of the times better than any other art. In other lands the pointed style inspires a sense of solemn severity; here the architect seems to treat his tools as playthings, harmonizing with facile elegance both Gothic and Byzantine characteristics.

From the fourteenth century onwards a new and mysterious force animates the work of Venetian statuaries who still did not disdain the humble designation of "stone-cutters" (*taiapiera*).

[1] Burlamacchi, *Vita del Savonarola*, p. 113. Lucca, 1764.

Statues of the Madonna, frozen and lifeless no longer, open their arms with loving gesture, and gently smile as they gather beneath the ample folds of their mantles the serried rows of bedesmen as they kneel with folded hands. And upon the façades of the churches, amid the acanthus-leaved capitals of the columns, there appear figures of cherubim, saints and warriors carved with the most delicate mastery of the chisel.

Pictorial Art, on the other hand, advanced much more slowly. Born to new life in the fourteenth century for the rest of Italy, in Venice it did not blossom until after another hundred years. Whilst Giotto at Padua was adorning the Chapel of the Scrovegni with immortal frescoes the benighted artists of Venice continued to paint according to immutable Byzantine rule. But even in the lagoons the influence of the Byzantines was obliged to give way before the overwhelming force of the new dispensation, directed more by the authority of the imagination than by that of religion, which spread rapidly over the whole of Italy, breathing life into everything that it touched. And as soon as the Republic had reached the height of its power one of its first cares was to perpetuate in painting its wars, its conquests, its achievements and its solemn pageants. For this purpose two celebrated painters, Gentile da Fabriano and Vettor Pisano of Verona, called "*il Pisanello*," were summoned to Venice in 1411 and charged with the decoration of a hall in the Doge's Palace. Their sojourn in Venice was marked by an advance in Art, due as much to their example as to their precept; under their auspices arose a school of Venetian painting which was to flourish later in the springtime of the Renaissance with extraordinary dignity of form and idea. Instead of the stiff Byzantine types we find life and movement, the spirit of the time and the place, the representation of the political and military grandeur of Venice. Artists became, as it were, historians of this crowded life, so that the chronicle of the most glorious age of the Republic may be said to be written on the walls of the Doge's Palace with a painter's brush. Unhappily this first flower of Venetian painting was lost in the destruction of the Palace by fire in 1577. But records have preserved for us a vivid description of these works. Gentile da Fabriano painted Pope Alexander III. exhorting the Doge Ziani to make war on the Emperor; Pisanello represented Otto, the son of Barbarossa, a prisoner of the Venetians, proposing himself as peace-maker between the Emperor and the Pope; Alvise Vivarini showed this same Otto presenting himself before the Emperor his father; Giovanni Bellini illustrated the festal reception accorded by the Doge to the Pope, who rewards him with honours and privileges: Vettor Carpaccio portrayed Pope Alexander III. celebrating Mass in S. Mark's. Thus did the painters picture the battles, victories,

and pageants, the warriors marching in procession beside the civil magistrates and other dignitaries of the Republic. All the illustrious personages of the time, together with its entire public life, were in this way faithfully transmitted to posterity. But among all the painters of this period none expressed the outward manifestations of the Venetian spirit with greater clearness and breadth of view than Vittore Carpaccio.

CHAPTER I

LAZZARO BASTIANI AND HIS SCHOOL

ART-HISTORIANS anxious to elucidate the question of Carpaccio's apprenticeship suggest alternately the tuition of Vivarini or of Gentile Bellini. Vasari, labouring under an obvious misapprehension, had affirmed that Carpaccio was the teacher of his own two brothers, Lazzaro and Bastian.[1] Historians easily rectified this confusion of name; but nearly all agreed in supposing that the great painter had Lazzaro Bastiani for his *pupil*. A closer examination of the value of these asseverations and the comparison of dates and facts in the light of documents hitherto unknown lead us to the conclusion that Bastiani was neither the scholar nor the imitator of Carpaccio but was actually his *first master*. To remove all credibility from the assertion, repeated and upheld even by Cavalcaselle, that Bastiani was Carpaccio's pupil it is sufficient to state that the former was already a painter of repute before the latter was even born. Nor is this all. Further proof is supplied by a comparison between certain paintings by Bastiani with others of Carpaccio, which exhibit so great an analogy of style that, later on, when the fame of the master was obscured by that of the pupil, works by the elder were attributed to the younger. This confusion, which has been cleared up by more careful methods of observation, naturally leads us to infer that Carpaccio was initiated into his art by Bastiani. It is therefore necessary, in order to determine more accurately what paintings should rightly be attributed to each, and in order to ascertain with greater exactitude the influence exercised by the elder over the younger painter, that we should reconstruct the figure of Lazzaro Bastiani, hitherto so imperfectly known and so inadequately appreciated. The guidance of authentic records which throw a new light upon this great craftsman's life,

[1] "He taught the art to his two brothers, who imitated him fairly well: one was Lazzaro and the other Sebastiano." Vasari, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori*, with new Notes and Commentaries by Gaetano Milanesi, t. iii. Sansoni, 1878.

while increasing the number of his paintings, place him at the head of a dynasty of painters and assign to him his rightful position in the History of Venetian Art.

A cursory glance at Venetian Painting in the fifteenth century at once brings under our notice three distinct artistic groups. Two of these, well known already and much studied, are the schools of Antonio Vivarini at Murano and of Jacopo Bellini. That Vivarini himself was led towards the New Art through the teaching and example of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello may be clearly discerned in a work by the Muranese painter in the Gallery at Berlin.

A closer follower of the master from Fabriano was Jacopo Bellini, who welcomed the renewal of the classical form of conception which heralds the first approach of the Renaissance; while Vivarini was always more or less pervaded by the feeling and methods of the age that was passing away. He unites indeed the charm of the new Tuscan style, which he had been able to study at Padua in the light of Donatello's genius, with the breadth and grandeur of his son-in-law Mantegna, with whom he lived in close intimacy, alternately his master and his pupil. The Mantegna influence is seen at work also in the youthful work of Giovanni Bellini, Jacopo's second son, some of whose paintings, notably the *Pietà* in the Brera Gallery, the *Agony in the Garden* in the National Gallery in London, and the *Resurrection* in the Berlin Museum, might almost pass for works by Mantegna himself.

But alongside the two schools of Vivarini and Jacopo Bellini, there grew up a third, consisting for the most part of obscure painters whose works, hidden in most cases during long years behind the impenetrable walls of convents, are not even mentioned in the old Guide-books. Newly discovered documents alone record the names of several of these humbler craftsmen and help us to trace the vicissitudes of a certain number of their works, which, having survived ill-treatment and exposure to the weather, were finally removed, after the suppression of the convents, to the safe-keeping of picture galleries, public and private; chiefly those of the Vienna Academy and the Museo Civico of Venice. We are thus in a position properly to appreciate this school, which always preserved an individuality of its own and is of no slight importance in the history of Venetian Art. To it belonged such distinguished men as Lazzaro Bastiani, the great Carpaccio, Benedetto Diana and Giovanni Mansueti, who on account of certain well-defined characteristics must be regarded as a quite independent group of artists and not, as common opinion has hitherto considered them, mere followers of the Vivarini and the Bellini.

This school then, of which Bastiani is the typical representative, traces its origin from the old Byzantinesque painters such as

1. ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
By Vittore Pisanello. In the Royal Museum, Berlin.

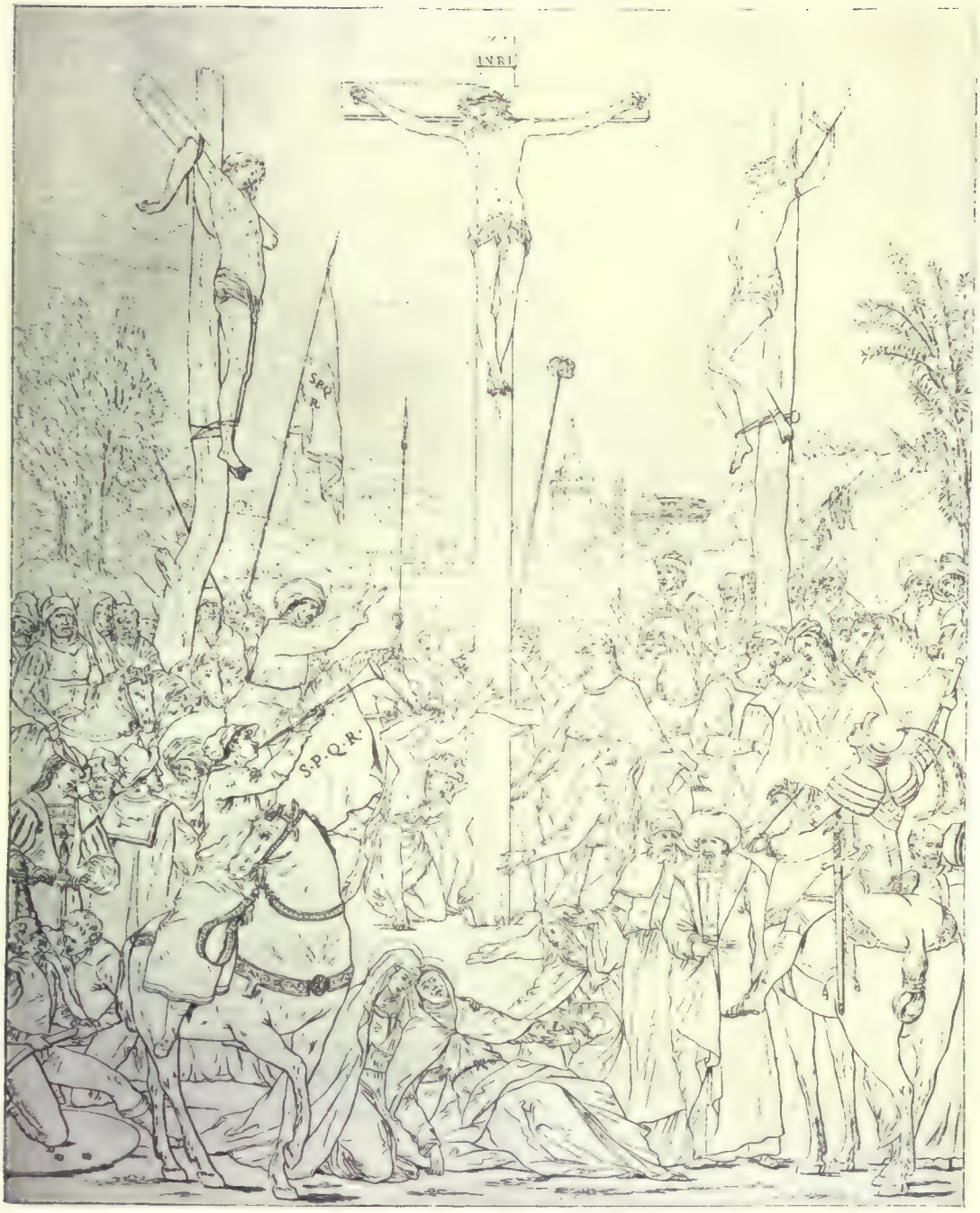
2. FRESCO IN THE CHURCH OF S. ANASTASIA AT VERONA.
By Vittore Pisanello.

3

ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
By Gentile da Fabriano. In the Academy, Florence.

4

ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
By Antonio da Murano. In the Royal Gallery at Berlin.



6 THE CRUCIFIXION. Fresco (now destroyed) by Jacopo Bellini in the Archbishop's Palace, Verona. From a print in the Museo Civico, Venice.

Jacobello del Fiore and Michele Giambono; but not without experiencing the influence of Jacopo Bellini in its spirit and in its form; an influence so powerful that this New Art cannot be properly studied without reference to his teaching.

Comparatively few works by Jacopo Bellini are preserved to this day. Two *Madonnas* with the signature of their author are, one in the Galleria Tadini at Lovere, the other in the Venice Academy.[1] Another *Madonna* with a kneeling donor (perhaps Lionello d'Este or Sigismondo Malatesta) is in the Louvre.[2] And three more *Madonnas*, one recently acquired by the Uffizi Gallery, another in the Galleria Lochis at Bergamo, and a third in the Cagnola collection at Milan,[3] are known to us. Besides these works a life-size *Crucifix* in *tempera*, signed *Opus Jacobi Bellini*, is the property of the Museum at Verona. There is also in the church of SS. Gervasio e Protasio (*San Trovaso*) in Venice a panel of San Crisogono, which passes for the work of Giambono, but which may with good reason be attributed to Jacopo Bellini. Of the *Crucifixion* in the Archbishop's Palace at Verona, now destroyed, we can judge only by an engraving, which suffices, even without the additional charm of colour, to show us the noble breadth of treatment of the composition and the wonderful beauty of some of the figures, which already foreshadow Giorgione. The work of the master in the Scuola di S. Marco at Venice, where he had painted (1455) an *Istoria de Jerusalem con Christo e i ladroni*,[4] was destroyed by fire.

Other paintings executed by Jacopo Bellini in the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista are thus described by Ridolfi:

By his hand were to be seen at the Confraternity of S. Giovanni Evangelista the figure of the Saviour and two angels compassionately supporting Him; and in the first Hall, in a series of smaller pictures, he distributed the *Acts* of Christ and of the Virgin, which, *having been devoured by time*, were restored by other artists with various alterations as we now see them. We shall describe them as they were described to us by old painters who remembered them:

In the first picture he painted the Infant Mary being washed by the midwives, S. Anne in bed, and S. Joachim writing. The background was a room of noble proportions.

In the next the Child Mary was on her way to the Temple, where she dwelt for many years, occupying herself in the holy duty of weaving the sacred vestments, adorning them with embroidery and jewels, and in other pious exercises.

In the third she was to be seen, attended by a number of maidens, betrothed to Joseph by the High Priest. There were also youths with rods in their hands beside S. Joseph. The ingenious craftsman had then represented her receiving the message of the Angel Gabriel, whilst above are a vast crowd of exulting angels. Next follows the visit of Mary to her relative Elizabeth, who receives her with demonstrations of welcome. Then under the humble shed she adores her new-born Infant, and beams of glory surround a celestial choir, who bear a scroll upon which is written *Gloria in Excelsis*

[1] The *Madonna* at Lovere came from the Venetian Convent of the Nuns of Corpus Domini; that in the Academy from the Convent of the Nuns of S. Maria degli Angeli at Murano.

[2] C. Ricci, *Jacopo Bellini* (*Emporium*, Nov. and Dec., Bergamo, 1903).

[3] The *Madonna* by Jacopo Bellini now in the Cagnola collection in Milan formerly belonged to Dr. J. P. Richter.

[4] Molmenti, *I pittori Bellini* (in *Studi e Ricerche di Storia e d' Arte*, p. 127. Turin, 1892).

Deo, the tenor of their heavenly anthem. On one side stands S. Joseph, and the two gentle beasts warm with their breath their new-born Lord.

In the next painting Jacopo showed the Virgin, in accordance with the Law, presenting her Infant to the High Priest Simeon, and offering by the hand of a little maiden two white doves Then in fear of Herod, mounted on a humble ass, she flies into Egypt, her innocent Babe wrapped in her mantle. The aged Joseph carries their wretched chattels on a frail cart and a number of angels attend them on the journey.

Mary and Joseph having reached Egypt, the painter depicted the latter exercising his trade of a carpenter with Jesus to hand him his tools, and the former gracefully sitting at her needlework. Many angels in glory cheer the blessed couple with their hymns. Herod being dead, the Holy Pair return to Judea, leading by the hand their Divine Son, who gazes at them with radiant and joyful countenance. Angels again guide the ass, laden with their humble effects.

Then in another painting the Saviour was seen interpreting the Scriptures, amid the disputing doctors. The Virgin and Joseph, drying their tears, rejoice at having found Him again.

Jacopo continued the series by depicting other Sorrows of Mary. Christ, compelled to suffer death for the Redemption of the Human Race, bends before His Mother to receive her blessing. In those two sad countenances the painter endeavoured to express maternal and filial devotion.

Next he painted John bearing to the Virgin the sad news that her Son has been taken in the Garden and carried before the Judgment Hall of Annas and Caiaphas. Upon which she fell fainting into the arms of her sisters.

In the following picture he painted the Saviour led to Mount Calvary, the heavy Cross on His shoulders, His footsteps hastened by the blows and buffetings of the executioners, whilst the pious Marys follow behind. Then He was seen on the Cross, at the point of death recommending His Mother to the care of His beloved John. An executioner prepared the sponge; others cast lots for His clothes, while still others stood and mocked.

To complete these scenes the Redeemer was shown after His triumphant Resurrection from the tomb, appearing to His Mother holding the glorious banner of the Holy Patriarchs. And last of all Jacopo portrayed the selfsame Queen of Heaven after her long life's pilgrimage carried to be crowned with a diadem by the Eternal Father and Son.[1]

It is believed that these paintings in the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista did not all perish; and the artist Natale Schiavoni of Chioggia claimed to possess eight of the series, of which two, the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Marriage of the Virgin*, were not long since sold in America. The others were scattered. The pictures formerly in the possession of Schiavoni are so injured by restoration that no definite judgment can be given upon them. The dignity of the composition, however, which recalls the influence of Giotto and the classic composure of certain figures may well support the attribution of these works to Jacopo Bellini.

The genius of Bellini is better displayed in two books preserved, one in the British Museum and the other in the Louvre, which contain admirable drawings of every conceivable subject: scenes from the Gospels and the Legends of the Saints, together with studies from the nude, examples of perspective with elaborate architectural details, studies of animals, etc.

[1] Ridolfi, *Le meraviglie dell' arte, ovvero le vite degli illustri pittori Veneti e dello Stato*, vol. i., pp. 70, 71, 72. Padua, MDCCCXXXV.

7 THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN.
School of Jacopo Bellini.

8 THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN, WITH S. BENEDICT AND S. URSULA.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Lochis Gallery, Bergamo.

It is easy to imagine the admiration with which all the artists of that period must have been inspired by the masterpieces of Jacopo's brush, whom they all took for their guidance and example, not excepting Lazzaro Bastiani and the school which he represents. But we seek in vain for the direct influence of the Paduan School upon Bastiani, who, according to Cavalcaselle, learnt his art in Padua from Mantegna, imitating his defects rather than his good qualities, and who, after the departure of that master to Mantua, returned to Venice, where adjusting his methods to those of the school of Vivarini, he worked in company with Carpaccio and Mansueti. Cavalcaselle further discerns in the youthful Bastiani the teaching and inspiration of Mantegna,[1] especially in the *Pietà* in the church of S. Antonino in Venice. But that painting certainly does not fall within Bastiani's youthful period, and if there is in it any Paduan inspiration it reached the painter through Jacopo Bellini. It will suffice to compare Bastiani's picture with two drawings for the same subject by Jacopo which are to be found in the book preserved in the Louvre.

From all that appears in his work and can be ascertained from documents Bastiani must in his early years have remained in Venice, where he collected around him a numerous following of painters bound to him by ties of relationship or of training.

Older than Lazzaro was his brother, Marco, a *coltrer* or *cortiner*—i.e., a painter of quilts, altar-frontals, standards, banners (*pennelli*), curtains and hangings for domestic and other purposes. Concerning this Marco, mentioned for the first time in 1435 as the son of one Giacomo living at San Lio, documents furnish us with curious particulars.[2] In his Will he commends to the care of his four sons a female Tartar slave, called Marta. One of these sons was Simone, who carried on his father's business and is alluded to from 1457 to 1475. He lived in the parish of S. Silvestro, the quarter

[1] Prof. Laudedeo Testi wrote a learned criticism (*Arch. Stor. Ital.*, Disp. i., 1904) upon the instalment of the book on Carpaccio referred to in our Preface (p. xiv, note) and published in French under the title: "*Vittore Carpaccio et la Confrérie de S. Ursule*" (Florence, Bemporad, 1903). Prof. Testi affirms that Bastiani *was in his young days exaggeratedly Squarcionesque.* We are curious to know in which of his paintings there appeared this exaggerated Squarcionesque mannerism. A propos of Prof. Testi, we take this occasion to thank him for his courteous pronouncement on our essay, which, according to him, *surpasses any other monograph published in recent times on the great artists of our country.* In truth, this too flattering criticism follows strangely upon the vigorous onslaught which he makes on each of our opinions and conclusions. Every one must judge as he thinks best, but Prof. Testi, in spite of his learning, appears to be not too familiar with the Venetian *data* and falls therefore into many errors in matters of fact. Some of these can easily be rectified by any one who knows the Art-History of Venice. But there are others which appear to us more serious and which it is our duty to correct in the course of this work; for no other reason than that certain misrepresentations should not acquire the appearance of truth from the authority of a critic of such eminence.

[2] In the Appendix to this chapter we have arranged in numerical order all the documents dealing with the Bastiani family. The reader can easily verify our history step by step by reference to these documents.

especially inhabited by the *coltreri*, *cortineri* and others employed in this special branch of the painter's art.

The name of Alvise, another son of Marco, of whom there are records from 1457 to 1512, is found in documents in company with that of the wood-carver Leonardo Scalamanzo, one of the artizans of the choir of San Stefano. And since Alvise dwelt in the Piazza S. Marco, where were situated the workshops of the painters of wooden chests and "arks," as also from his relations with the carver Scalamanzo, we may argue that he too was in fact a painter of *cassoni*.

Of the third son, Cristoforo, likewise a painter, we know no more than that he was buried in the vault which his father Marco had caused to be constructed for himself and his family in the cemetery of the Scuola di Sant' Orsola.[1]

We have more information concerning the fourth son of Marco, Polo by name, who took Holy Orders and from 1454 to 1480 served in the churches of the SS. Apostoli and S. Giuliano. The documents inform us that Polo, "a lewd man and of evil disposition" (*homo leziero et de mala sorte et volontà*), did not always perform his religious duties in a Christian and pious manner, as appears from the following anecdote.

In 1478 Venice was ravaged by a frightful pestilence, and many of the devout flocked to the church of S. Giuliano, where was preserved the body of S. Rocco. The brethren of the Scuola di S. Rocco implored aid from the sainted protector of the plague-stricken as they hurried along the streets scourging their naked backs and chanting hymns and litanies. A great multitude of these penitents, assembled at the church of S. Giuliano before the altar of S. Rocco, oblivious of the plague and of their prayers, came to blows and used their scourges no longer for penance, but for assault. The priest, Polo Bastiani, being present at the riot, attempted to quell it with arguments too forcible for a priest, and rushing forward "he unsheathed a sword before the altar and struck several blows at those whom he met, and even at Alvixe Bastiani, his own brother. . . . And so by somebody's order one of the penitents, called Alvise the barber, a ringleader in the quarrel, bared a sword and struck about him in company with the said priest Polo Bastian."

In the Will of Marco Bastiani, besides his four sons and his Tartar slave, he alludes to his brother Lazzaro, whose name occurs for the first time as witness to a Will of April 5th, 1449. It is written thus: *T. Lazarus pictor eondam Sebastiani de confinio Santi Leonis testis.* At that time then, Lazzaro lived at San Lio

[1] Curti Rocco, *Iscriz. sepolcrali venete* (Bib. Marc. Lat. Cl. xiv., Cod. xxvi.–xxvii.). In the Cemetery of Sant' Orsola "Sepultum . . . Marci Bastiani quondam Jacobi et suorum heredum."

(Leone) with his brother Marco; but later on, up to the time of his death, he dwelt in a house over against the principal door of the church of San Raffaele Arcangelo on the opposite side of the Canal.

In 1460 we find Lazzaro employed on an altar-piece commissioned by the Procurators of St. Mark for the church of S. Samuele. Ten years later the brethren of the Scuola di S. Marco gave him an order for a picture representing the history of David (*istoria di Davide*), and promised him the same amount as was paid to Jacopo Bellini, who with his two sons, Gentile and Giovanni, had worked for the same Guild. From this it appears that Lazzaro must have enjoyed a considerable reputation if the famous Confraternity of S. Marco appraised him as the equal in the matter of remuneration of Jacopo Bellini, the most eminent painter of his time.

About 1470 we find Bastiani entered among the brethren of S. Girolamo, and for that Scuola he painted on two panels some scenes from the life of their Patron Saint. In 1473 one Antonio Corradi of Pera (Constantinople) wrote to his brother-in-law to order from Lazzaro Bastiani a panel representing "the figure of our Lord Jesus Christ, but if the painter be dead, Master Zuan Bellini must make it" (*la figura di mess. Gesù Christo, ma se il pittore fosse già morto debbe farla ser Zuan Bellin.*). This picture was finished in 1474 by Bastiani, who for a long time yet was to continue his life of active work. He is recorded once more in 1494 in the records of the Scuola di S. Marco; and in 1498 he was called in to arbitrate in a dispute between two sculptors. The same year also finds him a witness to the Will of a certain Angelo Ravagnani.

It is our belief that at this stage in his career Lazzaro was called to the execution of a very important work. It being proposed in 1499 to decorate the half-dome of the Cathedral of Ferrara with paintings to imitate mosaic (*musaicum fictitium*) there were summoned thither a painter called Bonfadino and a certain *maestro Lazzaro*. The duty of appraising their work was laid upon Andrea Mantegna.

Many reasons induce us to believe that this Lazzaro was our Bastiani, who was a worker in mosaics as well as a painter. He had already completed the beautiful "mosaic" in S. Marco representing S. Sergius, and thus was better able than any other to paint such imitations. We cannot agree in any way with the opinion that recognizes in the *maestro Lazzaro* of the Ferrarese documents Lazzaro Grimaldi of Reggio, the author of a very inferior painting which from the Rossi Gallery in Venice passed not long since into the Kaufmann Collection in Berlin.[1]

Cittadella,[2] on the other hand, speaks of Lazzaro as a most

[1] A. Venturi, *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1888, p. 89.
[2] See *Doc. e Ill. rig. la st. artistica di Ferrara*, quoted in the Appendix to this chapter.

excellent painter and believes, in fact, that he is represented among the most famous painters, ancient and modern, in a curious book by a Ferrarese writer, Sigismondo Fanti. This work, consisting of woodcuts only without letterpress, bears the title: *Triompho di Fortuna* (*Impressa in la inclita Città di Venezia per Agostino da Portese MDXXVI.*). Set round the Wheels of Fortune and the several Virtues are the figures of heroes, philosophers, learned men, astrologers and artists, both of antiquity and of modern times. In the various plates the classic names of Parrhasius and Apelles are linked with the illustrious ones of the Renaissance—Raphael, Francia, Mantegna, Dosso Dossi, etc. In Plate XXV. beside the Wheel of Fortitude we see the figure of a certain "*Lazaro pictor.*" It is clear that a painter of the name of Lazzaro must have then enjoyed great renown at Ferrara if Fanti had no hesitation in honouring him in the same rank as the most famous craftsmen. May he not have been the same "*Lazzaro pictor*" who was summoned to adorn the Ferrarese Cathedral? And it does not seem too rash to identify him with Lazzaro Bastiani, since the mediocre Lazzaro Grimaldi of Reggio was certainly not worthy of so important a commission; and still less of the honour done him by Sigismondi Fanti. Nor at this period do we find any other painters of celebrity bearing the name of Lazzaro.

In the sixteenth century traces of Bastiani continue to be found in Venetian Archives and his signature recurs frequently between 1500 and 1502.

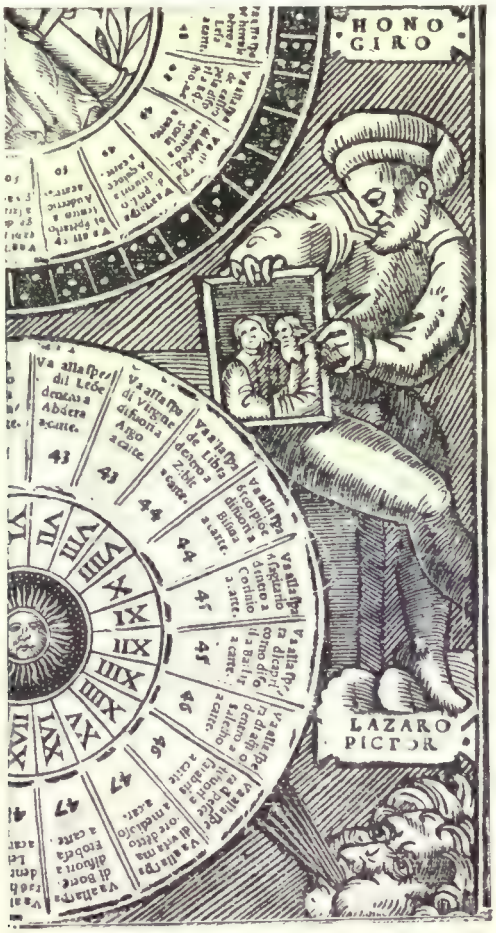
In 1508 his name is linked with that of Vettor Carpaccio in an arbitration of great importance. Lazzaro and Vittore were summoned to appraise the paintings by Giorgione on the façade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. Here Bastiani is mentioned first as being the elder and the order of the names cannot be alphabetical because Scarpazza is followed by Vettor de Mathio. Later still, assisted by another of his pupils, Benedetto Diana, a good painter of his school, Bastiani painted the standards in the Piazza di S. Marco.

That Bastiani was held in high repute in his own day admits of no doubt, since he also secured the honour, coveted by the most famous artists, of a summons to the Doge's Palace to paint *several* portraits; where Gentile Bellini himself, after his return from Constantinople, only received a commission for *one*—that of the Doge Marco Barbarigo.[1] In fact, Francesco Sansovino in his *Venetia* (ed. 1581, c. 124 t.) writes, ". . . The hall of the Council (*Collegio*) of the Twenty-five with divers portraits of former Doges, one *braccio* and a half in height, in their ancient costume, painted by Lazzaro Bastiani." And Ridolfi (*Meraviglie*, i. 67) says: "In the

[1] Lorenzi: *Monumenti per servire alla storia del Palazzo Ducale.* Doc. 216.

11 S. Sergius.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. Mosaic in St. Mark's, Venice.

12 S. Thecla. By Vincenzo Bastiani.
Mosaic in St. Mark's, Venice.



13 From a Woodcut in "The Triumph of Fortune"
By Sigismondo Fanti.

15 Sta Veneranda Enthroned, and other Saints.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Academy, Vienna.

Hall of the Twenty *Savii*, situated between those of the Council and of the Scrutiny, he (Bastiani) painted many portraits of Doges, which were burnt."[1]

In conclusion, we find the record of Bastiani's death in the following entry from the registers of the Scuola di S. Marco:

"1512. *Ser Lazaro Bastian pentor a San Rafael morì.*"

His death must have occurred after March 7th, 1512, since on that day Lazzaro was party to a contract.

Lazzaro had a son, Vincenzo by name, who might easily be confused with another Vincenzo Bastiani, the author of several mosaics in S. Marco. But this painter Vincenzo lost his life on March 18th, 1512, by falling from a scaffolding whilst working in the Basilica on a mosaic of Sta. Thecla, and there is no connection between him and the other Vincenzo Bastiani, the son of Lazzaro, whose autograph signature we find in 1513.

Another son of Lazzaro, named Sebastiano, took Holy Orders, and served his ministry in the church of S. Raffaele, situated opposite his father's house. More peaceable than his cousin Polo, who wore a sword under his cassock, Sebastiano combined his ecclesiastical duties with a humbler form of decorative art, deriving some modest profit therefrom by painting for religious festivals figures of angels and other decorations (*angeli ed altri ornamenti*).

Brother to the priest Sebastiano was Jacopo, employed in the humble office of carrying around the ballot-boxes in the Hall of the Great Council: and we believe we may safely recognize as a son of our Lazzaro that *Zuan de Lazzaro depentor*, whose name we find in a document along with those of two persons already known to us, the "*cortineri Marco e Simone Bastiani*," without doubt his colleagues and relatives.

Thus around a brilliant artist like Lazzaro Bastiani there grew up a family of obscure painters, engaged in forms of Art which can hardly be distinguished from Art-Industry. The influence of Lazzaro bore better fruit with some of his pupils.

If Lazzaro Bastiani, as has been seen, signed himself *pictor* from 1449, it is certain that at that date he must have reached manhood. We therefore cannot be very far wrong in placing his birth somewhere about the year 1425; and, since the artist's highest qualities are revealed in the signed but undated picture of *Santa Veneranda*, executed for the church of *Corpus Domini* in Venice and subsequently removed to the Academy in Vienna, we must

[1] The Documents refute Prof. Testi, who writes: "Bastiani does not seem, even in his own time, to have been considered a painter of ability. He secured, in fact, none of those splendid commissions which bear witness to the great masters of the period."

believe that this master-work was completed when the painter was in the prime of life—*i.e.*, between 1450 and 1470.

Upon a massive throne surrounded by Saints sits the stately figure of Sta. Veneranda, crowned, holding in one hand an open book and the palm of martyrdom, and in the other a small cross. The rich but heavy architecture of the background, in which may still be observed traces of mediævalism, already displays the first signs of the Renaissance in the decoration of the columns and arches. A curious detail may also be noticed: on the first step of the throne, cleverly foreshortened, as if it were a naïve votive offering, lies the painter's mahl-stick. The austerity of the types, the correctness and the sobriety of the drawing, and the simple and natural folds of the drapery far surpass the rather feeble and timid colouring.

To the flower of the painter's manhood, that is to say about 1470, must likewise belong the signed painting of *S. Anthony of Padua* sitting preaching amid the branches of a walnut tree, at the foot of which are two holy Franciscans, Cardinal Bonaventura and Brother Leo, the faithful companion of S. Francis. This painting was set up over the high altar of the Scuola di Sant' Antonio ai Frari and adorned later by Pordenone with five Franciscan Saints painted on the *antependium*. When in 1666 the altar was remodelled in the corrupt taste of the period Bastiani's painting was removed into the Scuola di S. Antonio and Pordenone's frontal was hung high up on a wall of the church of the Frari where it remained unnoticed until recently, when it was placed in a less unworthy position in the same church.

To the decade between 1470 and 1480 may be ascribed the paintings of the Scuola di S. Girolamo: the *Last Communion* and the *Obsequies of the Saint*. About the year 1470 Lazzaro was, as we have said, enrolled a member of that Confraternity and must at once have begun the two pictures, one of which, *The Obsequies*, was subsequently repeated on a predella now preserved in the Brera Gallery. A drawing for the head of the Oriental personage, who stands conversing with two monks under the portico of the church wherein S. Girolamo is receiving the Communion, is in the Print Room at the Dresden Gallery.

The same decade, that is about the year 1480, must have seen the completion of the painting sold by the family of Mocenigo di Sant' Eustachio to the National Gallery in London, where it still passes wrongly under the name of Carpaccio, although the forged signature written in one corner, *Victor Carpatio*, has been removed. It represents *The Doge Giovanni Mocenigo on his knees before the Virgin in the presence of SS. John the Baptist and Christopher.* This work must have been a votive painting for the cessation of the

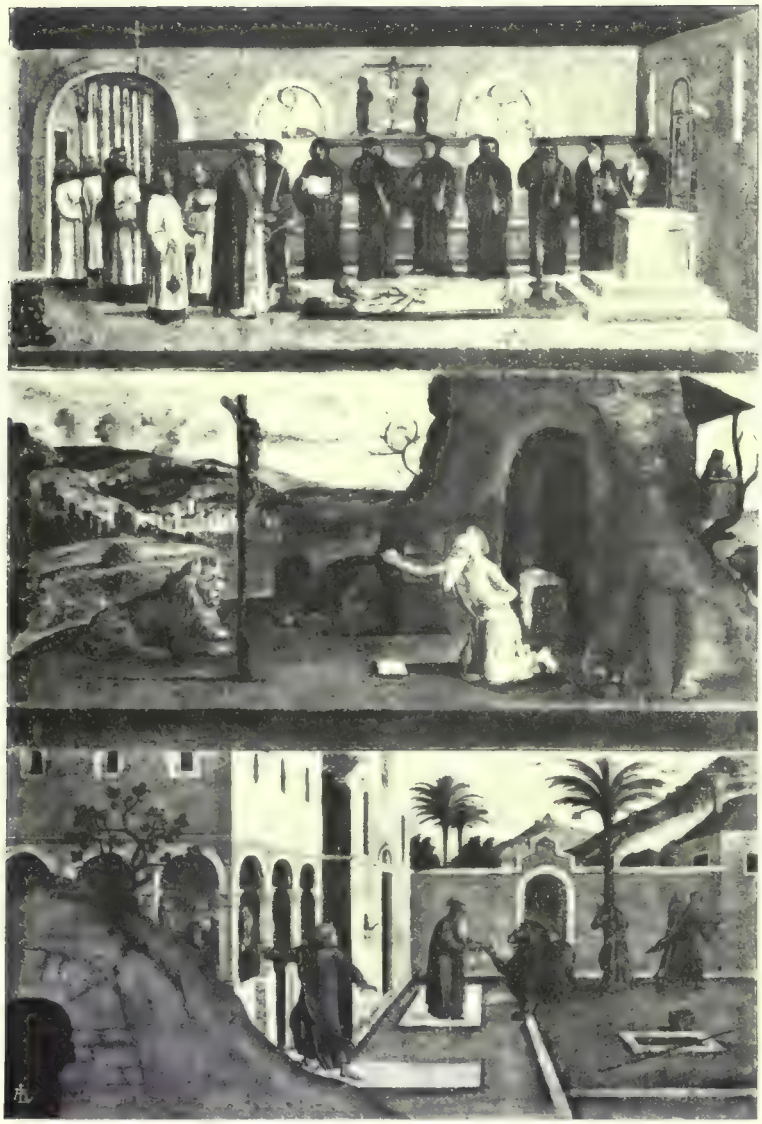
16 S. Anthony of Padua, S. Bonaventura, and S. Luke.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Academy, Venice.

17 THE LAST COMMUNION OF S. JEROME.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Imperial Museum, Vienna.

18 THE FUNERAL OF S. JEROME.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Imperial Museum, Vienna.

19 Drawing in the Museum, Dresden.
By Lazzaro Bastiani.

THE DOGE MOCENIGO KNEELING BEFORE THE VIRGIN.



21 PREDELLA IN THE BRERA, MILAN.
By Lazzaro Bastiani.

9 Virgin and Child, with the Donor, S. John the Baptist, etc.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. From the Church of S. Donato, Murano.

10 Virgin and Child.
By Gentile Bellini. In Mr. Ludwig Mond's Collection, London.

A Miracle of the Holy Cross.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Royal Gallery, Venice.

plague which ravaged Venice in the years 1478-79. Upon a sort of classical altar rising in the centre of the composition the following distich is inscribed:

URBEM. REM. VE
NETAM. SERVA
VENETUMQ.
SENATUM
ET MIHI SI ME
REOR VIRGO
SUPERNA AVE.

Carpaccio was at that time very young; and therefore it seems most unlikely that the Head of the State should entrust him with a work of such importance. That the painting is not by Carpaccio is admitted by many; but they are not at all agreed as regards its right attribution. Among others, an American authoress, who writes under the name of Mary Logan, believes that it recalls the hand of Gentile Bellini; but a consideration of that painting by Gentile which she finds so similar to this supposed work of Carpaccio should suffice to refute her contention. If, on the other hand, we compare the London picture with two paintings by Bastiani, in the Cathedral of San Donato at Murano and in the Galleria Lochis at Bergamo, we find in all three the same throne, and observe in the figures special points of resemblance, such as the shape of the hands with their coarse and bony joints. If, in addition, we note that in all these three paintings the Virgin is clad in a robe of brocade, according to Bastiani's usual custom, and that the landscape at the back with the pool of water and the hill crowned with poplars is especially characteristic of him, we can no longer hesitate in ascribing the London picture also to this painter.

The first picture by Bastiani that bears upon it a written date is that in the Duomo at Murano (1485), which represents *The Canon Giovanni dagli Angeli kneeling before the Virgin's throne.*

The picture in the Galleria Lochis at Bergamo bears the date 1490; and the great painting for the Assembly Hall (called *della Santa Croce*) in the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista was probably finished between 1486 and 1500—that is to say when Gentile Bellini was at work in the same place.

To follow in their order the pictures to which no definite date is attached it will be necessary to carefully observe the master's style. Thus it will be easy to discern how in his latest works Bastiani adopted a scale of proportion which differs from that of the paintings of his prime and drew his heads small and feeble with excessively elongated bodies. The proportion of the heads in relation to the bodies is in the painter's early years as one to eight, and in his later days as one to eleven. This defect is compensated by a merit

which the painter developes step by step as he advances in life. Indeed Bastiani, most diligent in the study of perspective, substitutes in later life a noble mastery of that science for the somewhat crude attempts of his youth. If in the *Annunciation* of the Museo Civico at Venice he shows a timid *naïveté* in the shallow distance and in the over-extended lines, all converging rapidly towards a vanishing point, another *Annunciation* in the Gallery at Klosterneuberg reveals an art of perspective perfect in line and foreshortening.

The *Annunciation* is a subject often treated by Bastiani. He painted one on the doors of the organ at S. Michele in Padua, of which unluckily only the Angel Gabriel remains; with a landscape background enlivened, as was the artist's custom, by a pool of water and a pair of bystanders conversing. Cavalcaselle restored also to Bastiani another painting, which must have formed the inner side of these same doors and which represents the Archangel Michael. It bears the forged signature of Jacopo Nerito, a pupil of Gentile da Fabriano.

Another pair of organ-doors by Bastiani, upon which he painted an *Annunciation* and which probably came from the church of Sant' Elena in Isola, are in the store-room of the Venice Academy. They have some designs in charcoal on the back, most likely also by the master's hand.

Finally a small *Annunciation* on panel beautiful in colour was sold in England by Signor Ongania, the Venice bookseller.

Bastiani also painted several presentments of the Madonna, among which must be cited the *Virgin with the Beautiful Eyes* (*Vergine dai begli occhi*), which hung in the office of the Directors of the Revenue (*delle Entrate*) and in the eighteenth century was attributed to Bellini. Edwards, however, in his private notes[1] up to so early as 1807, writes that many doubted the painting being by Bellini, attributing it rather to the Vivarini. But the characteristic background with the oddly-shaped palm-trees, the Child almost identical in type with the children of the picture at Murano, the forbidding and severe expression of the Virgin and the stiff and bony finger-joints remove all doubt but that the work must be Bastiani's. Another of his *Madonnas*, to be found in the Museum at Verona, was repeated by him on a panel now in the Venice Museum, where there is also another painting representing *SS. Cosmo, Damian and other Saints* which seems to us to be by Bastiani.

Of his school, moreover, is a *Madonna* in the same Museum with the forged signature of Cima di Conegliano. Mrs. Logan further professes to have seen at Bari a painting by Bastiani, concerning which, however, we have no information.

Bastiani also executed two inferior pictures, one for the church

[1] "*Arch. di Stato.* Direzione generale del Demanio; Ufficio Economato." Buste Edwards.

THE ANNUNCIATION.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Museum at Kloster-Neuburg, Austria.

23 THE ANNUNCIATION.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Museo Civico, Venice.

24 THE NATIVITY AND FOUR SAINTS.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Academy, Venice.

25 THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Museo Civico, Padua.

26 THE MADONNA "DAI BEGLI OCCHI."
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Ducal Palace, Venice.

27 MADONNA IN THE MUSEO CIVICO, VERONA.
By Lazzaro Bastiani.

5 PIETÀ.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Church of S. Antonino, Venice.

28 Adam and Eve beside the Tree of Paradise. School of Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Museo Civico, Venice.

29 King David and the Shulamite beside the Tree of the Church. School of Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Museo Civico, Venice.

of the Madonna del Torresino at Cittadella, and the other for the church of Sant' Antonino in Venice, which both portrayed the same subject, the *Pietà*. This last, which Cavalcaselle holds to be a work of the artist's early youth under the influence of Mantegna, ought really, from the rotundity of the folds and a certain softness of colouring, to be assigned to Lazzaro's second period; and the same argument applies to the *Nativity with Four Saints*,[1] now in the Academy, especially if we observe the proportions of the figures, over-long in comparison with the heads.

If not to Bastiani, at any rate to his school, so it seems to us, must belong the eight little pictures in the Venetian church of Sant' Alvise, which were considered by some as modern counterfeits, and by other authoritative critics, such as Ruskin, as boyish works of Carpaccio's; and some of which even bear his forged signature.[2] We believe that these eight little paintings at one time adorned the parapet of the organ in the church of S. Maria delle Vergini, along with two larger pictures now in the Museo Civico at Venice; one of which represents *Adam and Eve beside the Tree of Paradise*, and the other the *Tree of the Church*, beneath which stand David and the Shulamite.

These two pinewood panels are bordered by a narrow framework, not detached but carved in the panels themselves, making each one piece with its frame, whence it may be argued that they were used as the doors of an organ. Documents in the Archives prove that these two panels came from the Venetian Convent of Santa Maria della Vergini.

Now Cicogna in his *Iscrizioni Veneziane* informs us that these eight small pictures in the church of S. Alvise also came from the same Convent *delle Vergini*. They also are painted on pinewood panels bevelled all round, obviously in order to be inserted in the rabbet of a frame or cornice, which united them together to form the parapet of an organ-loft. In fact, organs with doors and parapets (*poggi*) painted with sacred events were frequently found in old Venetian churches. Uniting the eight small paintings at S. Alvise, and arranging them in what must have been their original order, four on one side and four on the other, we find a sort of symbolical parallel in the sacred subjects represented:

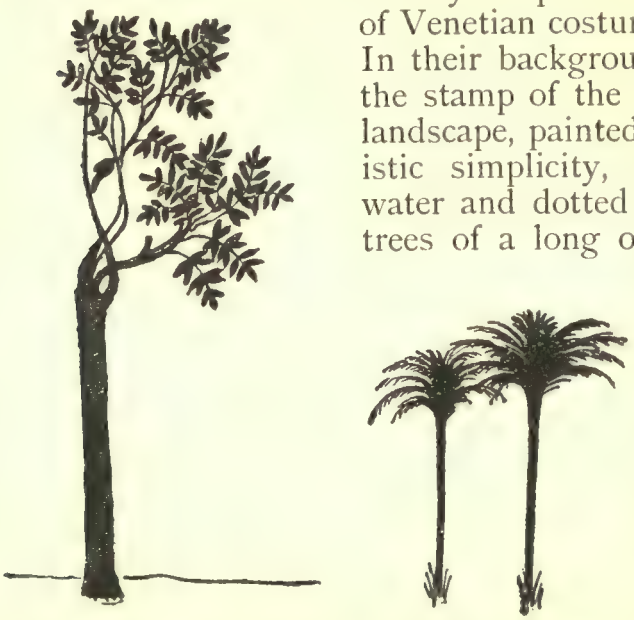
1. *a*. Jacob and Rachel at the Well.	1. *b*. The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba at the River.
2. *a*. The Recognition of Joseph by his Brethren.	2. *b*. The Return of the young Tobias.
3. *a*. The Golden Calf.	3. *b*. Job's Poverty.
4. *a*. The Fall of Jericho.	4. *b*. The Image with the Feet of Clay.

[1] The *Nativity* was in the church of Sant' Elena at Isola.

[2] These eight small pictures were, from what Cicogna tells us (*Iscrizioni*, v. 624), acquired in 1842 by the Abate Fr. Driuzzo and placed in the church of Sant' Alvise.

The style, the execution, and the drawing of these eight pictures reveal the hand of the same master who executed the two doors above described; so that the natural hypothesis arises that the ten paintings, all executed on the same species of wooden panel, must have together formed the decoration of the organ in the church of Sta. Maria delle Vergini at Castello.

Mrs. Mary Logan, on the other hand, discovers in the eight small works at S. Alvise characteristic signs of the *baroque* period, and believes that they were probably executed by some nun, so inexperienced in the methods of painting as to remind the American lady of the Art of the Mexican Aztecs. For us they are precious documents in the history of Venetian costume in the fifteenth century. In their backgrounds the architecture bears the stamp of the early Renaissance and the landscape, painted with Bastiani's characteristic simplicity, is enlivened by pools of water and dotted here and there with small trees of a long oval shape, not unlike children's toys, intended to represent the poplars in the Venetian countryside. To the poplars are added also some palms, represented like paintbrushes, in the form peculiar to Bastiani, whose mannerism is revealed alike in the composition and the grouping of the figures. The disproportionate figures, and still more the childish drawing of the animals, do not allow us to attribute these paintings to the master himself, although certainly to some pupil of his school. These works are more closely connected with the Industrial Arts and were due most probably to the brush of one of the many Venetian artists, who were employed on the decoration of chests, standards, panels, shields, etc. It is not necessary to suppose, as Ruskin did, that these paintings are by Carpaccio when a boy: they are probably by one of Bastiani's own nephews, Simone, Alvise or Cristoforo—all painters, but painters who contented themselves with remaining upon the slopes of the lofty mountain of Art.



Forms of Trees by Bastiani in the Picture of the "Annunciation" in the Museo Civico at Venice.

From the studio of Bastiani came also, in our opinion, the painting attributed to Carpaccio: *The Duke of Ferrara welcomed on*

30 JACOB AND RACHEL AT THE WELL.

31 JOSEPH MAKING HIMSELF KNOWN TO HIS BRETHREN.

32 THE FALL OF JERICHO.

33 THE GOLDEN CALF.

By Lazzaro Bastiani. From the Church of Sant' Alvise.

34 The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

35 The Return of Tobias.

36 The Affliction of Job.

37 The Great Image at Babylon with Feet of Clay.

By Lazzaro Bastiani. From the Church of Sant' Alvise.

38 Subject Unknown.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Mielhke Gallery, Vienna.

39 The Reception of the Duke of Ferrara.
School of Lazzaro Bastiani.

40 THE NATIVITY.
School of Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Royal Museum, Stuttgardt.

41 VIRGIN AND CHILD.
By Lazzaro Bastiani. In the Church of the Redentore, Venice.

the Piazzetta by the Doge Agostino Barbarigo in 1488.[1] Painted with a brush less timid than that of Lazzaro, with drapery less rigid, and with more vivacity of colouring, it does not seem over-hazardous to suggest that the young Carpaccio might have worked upon this painting, since he would have begun already in his master's studio to display his remarkable talent.

To Lazzaro himself, however, appears to belong another picture, also assigned to Carpaccio. The scene is laid in the open country, outside a walled city or fortress. Some young nobles, surrounded by their companions, are examining a horse which is held by grooms and squires. They would seem to be discussing the sale of the animal; though perhaps, indeed, the picture recalls some historic incident unknown to us, which may be surmised from the figure of the squire holding a cross in his hand at the head of the charger, neighing with open mouth and dilated nostrils. The painting is in the Mithke Gallery in Vienna and is also a very important document for the costume of the period.

Thus, from the humble workshop of Bastiani issued the precursory signs of that Art which was to be brought to its highest pitch by Carpaccio. In the painting which shows the Duke of Ferrara with the Doge Barbarigo there is already the intention of representing magnificent festivities amid the splendid monuments of Venice; in the painting of the young nobleman with the horse, which is perhaps in order of date the earliest composition of this kind in the Venetian School, the artist has portrayed a scene of domestic manners with the vividness of a novelist. If in these early essays the technique is not perfect, they are imbued nevertheless with that poetry intimate to Venetian life that foreshadows the approach of Vittore Carpaccio.

Scattered throughout divers collections, under the general designation of "unknown Venetian School," many paintings are to be found in which we can recognize the influence of Lazzaro and which we would desire to assign to his school—as, for instance, a *Nativity* in the Royal Gallery at Stuttgart.

[1] This picture has been recently presented to the Museo Civico in Venice by Prince Johann von Lichtenstein.

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY, PLACE OF ORIGIN, AND LIFE OF CARPACCIO

CARPACCIO'S pictures, so faithful a mirror of Venetian life in the fifteenth century, make us naturally curious to know something more of the personality of this delightful artist; but his image, after the passage of so long a time, has not come down to us with sufficient clearness to allow of our discovering all the intimate ties that unite the man to the artist. We must therefore content ourselves with giving to the reader those scraps of information which, during many years of assiduous research, we have been able to trace regarding his family and private life.

Vasari, speaking of the many Venetian and Lombard painters,[1] places Vittore Scarpaccia first of all; and he was always considered as a Venetian until the nineteenth century, when Canon Stancovich of Capodistria, out of devotion to his native place, put forward and maintained with considerable heat the hypothesis that Carpaccio was a native of Istria.[2] And until recently, when new documents removed the error, we too were glad to restore this Italian celebrity to a noble, brave and unhappy country that is and wishes to be Italian. But historical fact admits of no sentimental compromise, and more diligent investigations and maturer study have shown that Vettor Carpaccio was born in Venice of a family originally of Mazzorbo, an island in the diocese of Torcello.

Carlo Ridolfi had already stated that Carpaccio came of a Venetian family ennobled by long citizenship;[3] and Anton Maria Zanetti speaks of the ancient citizen family of Scarpazza extinct in 1760.[4] Luigi Lanzi, whom modern research proves more than ever to have been an historian and critic of singular accuracy, warmly

[1] Vasari, *Op. cit.*, p. 627.

[2] Stancovich, Can. Pietro, *Biografia degli uomini distinti dell' Istria*, 2nd ed. Capodistria, 1878. The first edition of this work was published in 1829.

[3] Ridolfi, *Le meraviglie dell' arte, cit.*, p. 61.

[4] Zanetti, *Della pittura Veneziana*, 1. i. Venezia: Tosi, 1777.

denies that Vittore and his son Benedetto were born at Capodistria, and affirms that the family of Scarpazza were undoubtedly Venetian, perhaps deriving their origin from Murano.[1] The first to discover their true extraction was Giovanni Maria Sasso, who ascertained that in the fourteenth century the Scarpazza were notable persons in the diocese of Torcello: one being a canon of the Cathedral and others judges.[2]

In fact, there exist abundant documents from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries to prove that this family was of ancient Venetian origin.

From the intricate network of families and names it was not easy to trace the line from which the painter himself descended. It was therefore imperative to exhume every possible document dealing with the Scarpazza, or as they were subsequently called the *Carpaccio*, family; and the search resulted in the discovery that the principal branch lived in the diocese of Torcello upon the now comparatively deserted island of Mazzorbo, which in the fourteenth century was a flourishing and populous community.

As early as December 2nd, 1284 we find that a certain Bartolomeo *Scarpazzo* of Mazzorbo and a certain Marino di Frison, wardens of the church of San Piero at Mazzorbo, promised to pay to Rovino, a stonecutter, eleven lire *di piccoli* for stones and columns bought for that church.[3]

The Carpaccio family owned a ship-yard, and their name recurs on nearly every page of the *Acts* of the Podestà of Torcello. They were wealthy folk, allied to a bishop, and they occupied the highest offices in the district.

But neither from this, nor from another branch of the Carpaccio family settled at Chioggia, does our Vittore descend; and to reconstruct his genealogical tree, we must first become acquainted with those collateral branches that in the fourteenth century had already migrated from Mazzorbo to Venice.

In 1360 a certain Lodovico Scarpazza has commercial relations with the island of Majorca. Of him we know neither the descendants nor the collaterals; but since it was customary for the members of the same family to exercise the same trade, it is not improbable that Lodovico belonged to the stock of one Martino Scarpazza, who in 1356 was engaged in business with certain Genoese. Six years later the same Genoese merchants have dealings with one *Marinus Scarpazza*, who must be the above-mentioned *Martino*, changed by an easy mistake in transcription to *Marino*. He lived in the parish of S. Tomà, where in 1371 dwelt also one

[1] Lanzi, *Storia pitt. dell' Italia*, vol. x., p. 45. Venezia: Milesi, 1838
[2] Moschini, *Guida per l' Isola di Murano*, p. 20. Venezia, 1808.
[3] *Arch. di Stato, Atti del Podestà di Torcello*, B. 2. R. 1.

Marco, a painter (*Marcus Scarpazio, pictor S. Thomae a ca Faledro*),[1] of whom we have no further knowledge. From the Will, undated but probably executed in 1414, of Cristina, wife of Marino, we gather that of the marriage there were two daughters, Cattaruzza and Franceschina, and that Cristina went to live near Santa Maria Formosa. Here at a later period other Scarpazza of wealthy substance had their dwelling, and they charged their family name with a coat of arms, which may be seen cut upon a tomb, erected in the seventeenth century in SS. Giovanni e Paolo by a certain Giovanni Antonio Carpaccio.[2] It is to this family that Ridolfi probably alludes when he asserts that the painter was descended from ancestors ennobled by long citizenship.

D . O . M
HIC IACENT OSSA Q. IO. ANTONY
SCARPAZZA Q. BERNARDINI QVI HOC
MONVMENTVM SIBI POSTERISQVE
SVIS FIERI CVRAVIT
ANNO DOMINI MDCXVIIII

But we have failed to connect this branch with that of the quarter of S. Raffaele where we find established in 1363 one Raffaele,[3] who had a son Benvenuto and a grandson Raffaele, mentioned in 1435 in the *Capitular* of the Urns (*delle Brocche*) of the Mint as Master-refiners (*affinatori*). From Raffaele the elder descended a numerous progeny, whence a collateral branch living near S. Gervasio e Protasio (*San Trovaso*) was detached, since in a document *Franciscus filius quondam Ser Bartolomeo Scarpazo* of S. Gervasio speaks of Ser Giovanni Scarpazo of S. Raffaele as his *paterno*—that is, the brother of his father. From Francesco descends Maffeo Scarpazo *varoter* (a furrier), already dead in 1473 leaving a son Giovanni whose issue we are unable to follow.

United in name and blood to this branch was the principal one from which descends our painter. This family of Carpaccio also had during the fourteenth century their dwelling in S. Raffaele, where they exercised their calling of fishermen and possessed a ship-yard like their ancestors of Mazzorbo. It is worth noting that S. Raffaele is the quarter adjoining S. Niccolò, the farthest point of Venice towards the mainland, and that S. Niccolò was also the home of the ancestors of the Bellini. These two wards formed

[1] Cecchetti, *Saggio di cognomi ed aut. di artisti in Venezia. Arch. Veneto*, t. xxxiii. p. 412.

[2] Cicogna in his *Inscrizioni inedite della Chiesa di S. Giovanni e Paolo* (Museo Civico. MSS. Cicogna, 502), N° 625 (p. 39), transcribes also the following epitaph, which still exists in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo :

JOANNI ANTONIO SCARPATIO MORUM PROBITATE AC PIETATIS
OPERIBUS CLARO CONIUGI AMANTISS. CATHERINA ARMELINA ET SIBI
ET FILIIS POSUIT MONUMENTUM HOC.
OBIIT VI KAL. NOVEM. MDCXVIII.

[3] We also refer the reader to the hitherto unpublished documents relating to the Scarpaza family, printed in the Appendix to this Chapter.

42 The Doge of the Nicolotti (Fishermen of St. Nicholas) Offering his Heart to Venice.
By Vitrulio.

the headquarters of the popular faction known as the *Nicolotti*, the violent adversaries of the inhabitants of the opposite part of the town who went by the name of *Castellani*. The Nicolotti were mariners, descended from that strong and ancient stock of Adriatic fishermen who were the sinews of the Venetian power at its vigorous outset; and it is noteworthy that from this lusty race of sailors who, alike in body and in spirit laid the foundation of the civil fame of Venice, came also those men who were the first to confer upon their country the glory of the Arts.

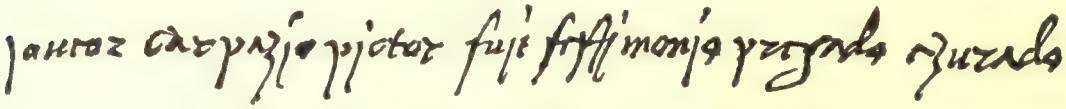
Of these seafaring Carpaccio the earliest record goes back to 1348, in which year one Pietro Scarpazza lived in the parish of S. Felice. But in 1362 we find Pietro already settled near S. Raffaele and making a trust-deed (*carta sicuritatis*) by which he secures the dowry of his wife Zanetta, daughter of Vettore di Lazzaro. Zanetta died and Pietro contracted a second marriage with a certain Beruzza, by whom he became the father of Antonio or Antolino, still a minor in 1372. Antonio who made his Will in 1397, alluding therein to his mother Beruzza, married a certain Maria who in a deed expressing her last wishes dated 1430 mentions a son of hers named Vittore, whom we for greater clearness will style Vittore I. Another Will of Maria's dated 1440 informs us that in that year her husband Antonio was already dead and that her son Vittore I. was married to a certain Lucia. In 1450 this Vittore had already passed away, leaving a daughter and six sons, all expressly named in three Wills of Lucia his widow.

The daughter, married to Andrea Rayneri of Brescia, was called Antonia. Her brothers were Pietro, Sante, Marino, Marco, Antonio and Giovanni (*Zuane*). The two last became monks: Zuane assumed the name of Ilario, whilst Antonio, who took the *habit* late in life, when a widower with an only daughter Maria, was called Fra Luca. Among all these six brothers we are principally concerned with the issue of the eldest, called after his paternal grandfather Pietro, and whom we shall style Pietro II. He cut himself off and lived at a distance from the family of fishermen of S. Raffaele, so that in one of the Wills of his mother Lucia he is rebuked for his cruelty (*crudeltà*). We have been able to find two different signatures, one in 1454 and the other in 1457, of this Pietro II., who in 1486 lived, or had a shop, in one of the houses of the Procurators of S. Marco, to pay the rent for which he used to send his son, called Vittore like his grandfather, whom we shall indicate as Vittore II. After this date the name of Pietro disappears from the Account-Book of the Procurators. It is therefore probable that he had removed to another residence or was no longer living.

A Will dated 1472 of Zuane Carpaccio, called in religion Frate

Ilario, furnishes some details with regard to his many brothers, and especially concerning his brother Pietro II., who followed the trade of a skinner (*peliparius*). It also gives us the earliest information that we possess about Vittore II. He is named as one of the heirs of his uncle, the monk, and must therefore have been more than fifteen years old, since no one was permitted by law to enter into an inheritance before that age. It is therefore reasonable to place his birth between the years 1455 and 1456.

The Will of Frate Ilario states, moreover, that another of his brothers, Sante, had three sons, the first of whom likewise bore his grandfather's name; him we will call Vittore III. The second son, Alvise, was a fisherman; and the third, Gasparo, who was employed at the Mint, died in gaol after pleading guilty to having "treacherously and fraudulently stolen gold" (*aurum dolose et fraudolenter*). Some writers believe that Vittore III., Sante's eldest son, was the great painter; whilst we on the other hand would rather recognise him as the son of Pietro the skinner. It is true that to establish his identity we can only proceed by a method of elimination, since the autograph dated 1523, the only existing signature of the artist apart from his painting, does not bear the name of his father:



Jo veor Carpazio pictor fui testimonjo pregado et zurado.

In not one single document is Vittore III. described as a painter, and he had only two sons, Sante and Marco.

Now we know on the other hand of two other Carpaccio, who signed themselves, one in the year 1526 as *Pietro Carpaccio pittor ael quondam Vettore*, and another in 1530 as *Benedetto Carpaccio di Messer Vettor*. These could not have been the sons of Vittore III. because, as we have observed, he had but two, Sante and Marco. We therefore believe ourselves justified in affirming that Vittore II. was the great painter and the father of Pietro and Benedetto, who were also painters. This conjecture is also strengthened by the names, which, as may be seen from the Genealogical Tree, alternate regularly from grandfather to grandson down to Vittore II. And that this Vittore II. can be no other than the painter, the son of Pietro II. the skinner, is likewise proved by the fact that in the records both of Mazzorbo and of Venice we meet with no other Vittore, son of a Pietro.

[1] In Venetian documents besides *fu* and *quondam* the term *fo* is also used to indicate a deceased father, and *fo* (Italian *fu*) was never used to signify *figlio*, *fiol*, *fio*, as Prof. Laudodeo Testi believes in his article already referred to,

That Vittore Carpaccio was born in Venice of a Venetian family seems therefore abundantly evident from what we have set forth, at all events until documents are discovered in other Archives showing stronger proof of the origin and genealogy of the painter. But not a single trustworthy document has ever been produced by Canon Stancovich, nor by any of those able writers, Tedeschi, De Francheschi, De Castro, Luciani, etc., in support of the suggestion that the artist was born at Capodistria.[1]

To those who would raise objection to this theory on the ground that Vittore himself and his son Benedetto subscribe themselves as Venetians (*Veneti*) on their paintings,—including even those in Capodistria,—the answer has been given that they could style themselves Venetian because they belonged to a people and a country subject to the dominion of the Republic, or because they belonged to the Venetian School of Painting, or because they had been brought up in Venice. But these arguments have none of the force of proof, any more than to hold that the Istrian origin of our painter can be proved by the fact that for a long series of generations the first-born son of the Carpaccio family bore the name of Vittore out of devotion to the Saint of that name who from very early times enjoyed a special veneration in Capodistria.

That a family of Carpaccio did exist in Istria in the sixteenth century and became extinct in the nineteenth no one has ever denied; but Canon Stancovich, without taking the trouble to ascertain when and how this family became established in that country, published a genealogical tree extracted from the Cathedral Archives of Capodistria, and extending over three successive generations, commencing with Vittore the father and Benedetto the son without, however, pointing out the native country or year of birth of these craftsmen.

Some more recent Istrian writers, supporting the opinion of Canon Stancovich, affirm that Vittore's son, Benedetto Carpaccio (several pictures by whom are still to be found in Istria), was living at Capodistria in 1545, as may be gathered from a notarial act with the following heading:

"Instrumentum quietationis scriptum per me Pomponium ducaynum Not^{m}. sub Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadrigesimo quinto indictione tertia die vero vigesimo octavo mensis octobris actum Justinopoli in domo habitationis infrascripti D. vicedomini praesentibus m^{ro}. Tonello de Gallo cum m^{ro}. Benedicto Scarpaccio coram sp. d. Joane de Vida hon. vicedomino comunis Justinopolis."[2]

But a proof that Benedetto was living at Capodistria in 1545

[1] Abate Cadorin also, in his notes on a document published by Michelangelo Gualandi (*Memorie di B.A.*, Serie III., p. 92), says that the birth of Carpaccio in Istria is *proved* by Canon Stancovich but that the place and time are unknown.

[2] *Pagine Istriane*, Anno 1. N. 5, Capodistria. Luglio, 1903.

is no evidence that Vettor Carpaccio, who was probably born in 1455, first saw the light there.

It is indeed true that the inhabitants of Capodistria point out as the painter's dwelling an old two-storeyed house in the Largo di Porta S. Martino where tradition has it that Carpaccio was born. Popular tradition, which inspires the soul of the poet, does not generally enjoy the authority of history; but in this case it is confirmed by documentary evidence, since from the Register of Assessments in the Communal Archives of Capodistria we learn that as early as 1500 (*nel 1500*) there stood in the Largo di Porta S. Martino a house occupied by the Scarpazza family, and that the same family at an earlier period possessed in the neighbourhood of the city a small agricultural property (*podere*) in a locality called S. Vittore.[1] The date *1500*, thus vaguely stated, leaves us in some doubt whether it refers to the one year or to the whole sixteenth century. Now we do not deny—we even affirm—that in the fifteenth century a painter named Scarpazza, Benedetto in fact, had taken up his abode in Capodistria and eventually became the founder of a family whose representatives were living in the last century; but we do not believe that either Vittore or Benedetto was born there. This could not be considered as proved, even if the assertion were true (and we cannot accept it in the absence of any documentary confirmation) that a family of Scarpazza was established in Istria in the first half of the fourteenth century.[2]

If Istria can produce no document concerning Vettor Carpaccio it may in compensation boast the possession of certain works authenticated by his signature and date.

The picture preserved in the Cathedral of Capodistria is signed *Vittore Carpathius Venetus pinxit anno MDXVI*, and we are asked to believe that in this year 1516 Vettore returning to his native Istria lived there until his death and completed several

[1] The *Pagine Istriane* (Anno 1, N. 9—10 Nov. and Dec. 1903) quote, without any detailed identification, *The Books of the New Assessment in the Communal Archives at Capodistria.* (*Libri del novo estimo nell' Archivio comunale di Capodistria.*)

[2] An anonymous writer over the initials D. B., in the *Pagine Istriane* of Nov.—Dec. 1903, already referred to, contributes a biographical romance, entitled, *The House of the Painter: Studies on the Life of the Painter Carpaccio* (*La Casa del Pittore—Studi sulla vita del Pittore Carpaccio*). This nameless authority writes as follows: "To all appearance (*Da quanto appare*) the head of this Capodistrian family of Carpaccio must have come at the beginning of the fourteenth century to this city in the Venetian littoral in the capacity of a carpenter." But history is not made by such vague suggestions but by precise affirmations supported by proofs and we demand documentary evidence of the year in which this founder of the family came to Capodistria. He is said moreover to have come as a "carpenter." Now we ourselves were the first to publish unknown documents from the Archivio di Stato in Venice with the object of showing that the ancestors of Carpaccio practised the calling of "carpenters"—not, however, in Capodistria, but in Mazzorbo. The anonymous writer, though unable to quote documents, obtains at any rate profit without acknowledgment from printed books, whence he draws the information which he submits to his own ends. The romance becomes downright fantastic when he describes the life of the painter. "From this family," continues the author, "was born *in 1450* Vittore Scarpazza (Scarpaccia—Carpatio) who, sent at an early age to Venice, entered the studio of the painter

paintings.[1] These pictures, it has been said, could not have been executed elsewhere on account of the difficulties then attending the transport of such large canvases, and likewise because the backgrounds of these paintings reproduce local scenery with such fidelity as would have been impossible except by a close observation of the original.[2]

It is easy to object that the painter could have sent his pictures from Venice to Istria by one of the numerous vessels that carried on such frequent commercial communication between the two shores of the Adriatic. As a matter of fact, in 1518 when the artist is supposed to have been in Istria, he painted for the church of Pozzale in Cadore a pánel in five divisions, which would have had to be conveyed somehow into the midst of the Cadorine Alps by a much more difficult land-and-sea journey than that from Venice to Istria. And to Chioggia he would also have had to send from Istria another altar-piece, representing *S. Paul*, painted in 1520. Transport could not have been difficult when in those days—or even earlier—we find Venetian pictures conveyed to far distant places: as, for example, the works of Bartolommeo Vivarini into Apulia and of Alvise Vivarini into Umbria. Lattanzio da Rimini during his residence in Venice painted various pictures for Piazza Brembana in the Bergamasque; and Cima da Conegliano executed a large altarpiece for the church of Sant' Anna at Capodistria, although we have no record that he ever left the Lagoons for the opposite shore of the Adriatic.

Nor has the observation that the paintings now to be seen in

Lazzaro Bastiani, where he remained until about the end of 1475, in which year leaving the workshop of that artist he entered that of Bellini (?) and collaborated with him until 1485 (?)." The date, then, of the birth of Carpaccio for which we have with the utmost patience sought in vain is discovered by our anonymous friend. The painter, he says, was born in 1450. But no one knows whence he has obtained this most precious piece of information and we anxiously await an indication of its origin. Another valuable scrap offered to us by this *Anonimo* is the statement that Carpaccio, sent to Venice at an early age, entered the studio of Lazzaro Bastiani, where he remained until about the year 1475. To the curiosity of the historian in our case is added the pleasure of the critic, since it was ourselves who first put forward the hypothesis that Carpaccio had learned the secrets of his Art from Lazzaro Bastiani. Up till that time it had always been believed that Bastiani was Carpaccio's *pupil*.

[1] According to the before-mentioned anonymous authority of the *Pagine Istriane* the last two works completed by Carpaccio in Venice are *The Meeting of Joachim and Anna* and *The 10,000 Martyrs Crucified on Mt. Ararat*, and their date is 1515. "*In the year immediately following 1516*" continues the imperturbable biographer, "*we find our painter at Capodistria painting the picture which is still to be seen in the presbytery of the Cathedral of that city.* This hypothesis of ours" (thus continues our unknown, who here at least abandons affirmations and enters the less dangerous region of hypothesis) "finds confirmation in the fact that among the works executed by Vittore Carpaccio after 1515, the pictures extant in Capodistria, authenticated by his signature and date, show in their backgrounds local landscapes, reproduced with a singular fidelity that could not possibly have been inserted except by close study on the spot." And he adds that "the pictures executed by Vittore Carpaccio after the year 1515, commencing with the altar-piece existing in the Cathedral at Capodistria down to that which adorns the church of S. Giorgio at Portole, should be reckoned as his last works; which it is impossible to deny were painted by our artist in the city of Capodistria itself."

[2] *Pagine Istriane, loc. cit*, p. 205.

Istria show an accurate study of local scenery any greater force, since at that time sketches of towns and landscapes circulated just as photographs do nowadays; and Carpaccio frequently painted with exact detail views in the East without ever having been there.

In a word, it cannot be admitted that Carpaccio in 1520 painted in Istria for the church of S. Giorgio in the village of Portole the picture of the *Trinity*, nor that he spent the last years of his life in that country, when documents which cannot be gainsaid prove that he was in Venice after 1520. Here in 1523 a certain lady Marieta (*uxor Dominici de Confinio Sancti Mauritii*) made her Will and appointed as executor thereof *ser Victorem Scarpasium pictorem.*[1] The testatrix could, indeed, have named an absent person as her executor, but it is in that same year 1523 that was *executed in Venice* the only existing autograph of the painter which we have reproduced above.

As we do not know the precise date of Carpaccio's birth so also is that of his death unknown to us; but in 1526 the painter Pietro Carpaccio styles himself son of "*quondam Vettore.*" We have a deed of 1527 dated at Venice and executed by his widow Laura (*relicta dal pittor Vettore*), an instrument that alludes to an earlier one of 1525, which, however, does not prove that Laura was already a widow in that year. Hence we can conclude that the painter was certainly dead in 1526. That he had closed his eyes for ever between the dates of these deeds of 1525 and 1526 at Capodistria far from his lifelong companion, who had stayed on in Venice, can by no manner of means be credited.

Concerning Benedetto, Vettore's son, we also have documents which prove his presence in Venice long before the above-quoted Capodistrian documents of 1545. In two Wills, one of the 18th and the other of the 23rd of September 1530, declaring the last wishes of *Maria filia quondam domini Francisci de cha Massario abitatrix in contracta Sancta Marina*, Benedetto signs himself thus:

Io Benedetto Carpaco fo de Messer Vetor testimonio pregado e zurado.

It is true, of course, that the connection of the Carpaccio family with Istria dates back many years prior to 1545, as may be learnt at Capodistria from certain pictures signed by Vettore. But these paintings do not reveal the force or the delicacy of the great painter's touch, and it is probable that he, having designed the composition, sketched it out and even having put his name to the work, afterwards left the completion of the undertaking, under

[1] It is unnecessary to repeat that the reader will find the proof of every statement and every date in the documents published in the Appendix.

his own guidance, to his son Benedetto.[1] Although inferior to the artist's best works the paintings at Pirano and Capodistria are yet of such merit that they could not have failed to arouse the admiration of the Istrians, who acquired them from the Venetian workshop of the celebrated craftsman.

His father's great reputation and his own undoubted gifts enabled Benedetto to spread his work abroad in Istria. Indeed, the first landmark in Benedetto Carpaccio's artistic life (1537) appears on a painting representing the *Coronation of the Virgin* preserved in the Town Hall of Capodistria.

In what year Benedetto Carpaccio removed from Venice to Capodistria we are unable to determine, nor does any document refute the conjecture that he was there in 1537 when he completed the *Coronation of the Virgin.* It is certain that in 1533 he was still in Venice. We have seen that in 1523 Maria dei Canali appointed the painter Vettor Carpaccio as executor to her Will. Now we know that in 1526 Vettor Carpaccio was dead and on July 8th 1533 we find that Benedetto Carpaccio had for some time past been replacing his father as executor to this Will of the said Donna Maria dei Canali. By another Will, executed in Venice in 1542, Benedetto is appointed testamentary commissary for his cousin Caterina, "daughter of the late Messer Antonio de Martini and wife of Messer Antonio Sonica, notary to the Office of the Syndics, dwelling in Venice in the district of San Felice" ("*fia del quondam messer Antonio di Martini et consorte di mes. Antonio Sonica, nodaro all' ufficio de' signori Syndici habitante quì a Venetia in contrà de San Felise*"). It is true that this document does not prove the presence of Benedetto in Venice, since, even if he had been far away from the Lagoons, he could still equally well have been nominated as commissary and testamentary executor for his cousin Caterina.

The only document which has come down to us to authenticate the residence of Benedetto in Istria is that of 1545; although it is quite certain that the painter founded a family from whom are descended those Istrian *Scarpazi* who became extinct in the last century at the death of Antonio Carpaccio, a man of letters, which occurred in Trieste in January 1817.

Concerning Pietro, Vettor Carpaccio's other son, we have also been able to trace some information hitherto unknown. Pietro who bore the name of his grandfather was probably the elder son. In the records of the Podestà of Murano for the month of February 1513 (M.V.) we find four times over reference to *Ser Petro Scarpaza pictore* as party in a lawsuit *contro Ser Nicolao a Sole.*

[1] Such is the opinion of Gustavo Frizzoni in his article *Un' escurzione art. a Capodistria*, published in the periodical *Arte e Storia* (Florence, 22 Luglio, 1883).

We find a second notice of Pietro Carpaccio at Udine, after his father Vettore's death. In the records of the notary Matteo Clapiceo it is recorded that on June 26th, 1526:—

"Master Pietro Scarpaza, son of the late Master Vittore, painter, of Venice, takes into his employment Gio. Maria, son of the late Master Bartolomeo of Brescia, aged 14, on an agreement that he will serve him faithfully for four years in return for board and clothes." (*Il maestro Pietro Scarpaza q.m. Vittore, pittore Veneto, prende al suo servizio Gio. Maria q.m. Bortolomio di Brescia di* 14 *anni a patto che lo serva fedelmente per anni* 4, *dandogli il vitto e vestito.*)[1]

If Benedetto, assisted and favoured by his father's fame, found glad welcome in Istria, Pietro had an equally cordial reception in Friuli, where doubtless the name of Vettore yet commanded applause, since in 1496 he had executed for the church of S. Pietro Martire at Udine the painting, now in the Imperial Museum at Vienna, representing *Christ with the instruments of His Passion pouring His Life's Blood into a chalice.*

Having dwelt at great length, and perhaps not without profit, on the birthplace and family of Vittore Carpaccio, we will proceed to gather together once more and complete the information which may be drawn from the documents concerning the life of this great craftsman. In 1472 (September 21st), being then qualified to enter into his share of his uncle Fra Ilario's inheritance, Vettore must have been *at least* fifteen years old; whence we cannot be far wrong in placing the date of his birth about the year 1455. In 1486 (August 8th) he was sent by his father to pay to the Procurators of S. Mark's the rent of a house or shop.

In 1501 the reputation of Vittore had reached its height, since we see how the rulers of the Republic desired him to enhance with his paintings the magnificence of their Palace. Of the commissions given to the painter in the Hall of the "Pregadi" we have more than one record and it is curious to note how those "grave and reverent signiors" displayed the minutest interest even in the colours and the canvas.

In the Hall of the Senate Carpaccio painted Alexander III., robed in Eucharistic vestments and attended by Cardinals Angelo Correr, Pietro Barbo, Francesco Lando, Giovanni Michiel, Giovanni Battista Foscari and Domenico Grimani, granting an indulgence to the Venetian people in the church of S. Mark. Under it was written:

"Apparatus sacris in divi Marci æde Alexander Pont. omnibus "Dominicæ Ascensionis die intra binas vesperas adeuntibus, plenam

[1] Joppi, *Contributo quarto alla storia dell' arte nei Friuli* (in *Miscellanea R. Deput. Veneta di Stor. patr.*, 1894).

"delictorum veniam perpetuo concessit, septima peccatorum parte "per octavam frequentantibus remissa."

Nor was this all that Carpaccio did in the Ducal Palace. In 1507 he was summoned to assist Giovanni Bellini to complete the decoration of the apartments of the Greater Council. It is curious to note how in this same year, 1507 (Feb. 7th), in a competition with Benedetto Diana to paint a banner (*pennello*) for the Scuola della Carità Diana had defeated Carpaccio, the painter who was nevertheless considered worthy to collaborate with Giambellino in adorning the residence of the Doges.

Some years afterwards the Palace of the Doges was to witness the serene ideals of Carpaccio and Bellini set side by side with the powerful creations of the youthful Titian. We find the following notice under date of May 31st, 1513, in the Diaries of Sanudo:[1]

"At this ordinary meeting of the Council of Ten it was decided that Titian the painter should be employed in the Hall of the Great Council like the other painters, but without any salary beyond the customary amount given to those who have painted there: that is to say Zentile and Zuan Bellini and Vetor Scarpaza: so it will be with this Titian" (*In questo conseio x semplice fu preso che Tiziano pytor debbi lavorar in sala dil gran consejo come li altri pytori, senza perho alcun salario, ma la expectativa solita darsi a quelli hanno pynto che è sta Zentil et Zuan Belin et Vetor Scarpaza: hora mo sará questo Tiziano*).

Of Carpaccio's paintings in the Ducal Palace nothing unfortunately remains but the remembrance preserved in old documents; since on December 20th, 1577, the Eve of St. Thomas the Apostle, a fire broke out in the Office of the Water Department and spreading rapidly destroyed the ceiling of the Hall of the "*Scrutinio*" and consumed in the Hall of the Great Council all the portraits of the Doges, "and those paintings round the room painted by *Zuan* "*Bellino*, *Pordenon*, *Tician*, *Vivarin*, and the other famous and "most excellent painters of the ancient history of the Venetians in "the time of the Doge Sebastiano Ziani and the Emperor Frederic "Barbarossa in defence of Pope Alexander the III. when he came "into this city, and many other beautiful scenes worthy of eternal "remembrance."[2]

In 1508 Carpaccio was summoned, in company with Bastiani and Vettor di Mattio, to consider the value of the paintings upon the façade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (*a vedere quello pol valer*

[1] Vol. xvi. c. 163.

[2] Bibl. Marc. *Cron. Savina*, c. 266. (It. Cl. vii. n. cccxxi.). Sansovino in his *Venetia* (lib. viii.), speaking of the works destroyed by the conflagration in 1577, writes of that by Carpaccio thus: "The Pope, with many Cardinals and Bishops around him, having celebrated a solemn mass in S. Mark's, grants Perpetual Indulgence on Ascension Day to all who visit the said church. This painting was executed by *Vittore Scarpaccia*, an able man in that Art."

la pictura facta sopra la faza del fontego di Todeschi) executed by Giorgione of Castelfranco.

Whilst Carpaccio and the most famous painters of the Republic were on their scaffolding decorating the Hall of the Great Council they received a visit from the Marquess of Mantua, Francesco Gonzaga, who—like his wife, Isabella d' Este—was an intelligent admirer and patron of the Arts. An account of this visit is given by Carpaccio himself in a letter addressed to the Marquess: a valuable document published for the first time by us some years since. The letter dated from Venice on August 15th, 1511 is most important on account of the additional curious information that it contains.

Carpaccio writes to the Marquess that, being one day in his workshop, he received a visit from an unknown person who desired to purchase of him one of his finished pictures representing *The City of Jerusalem.*[1] The unknown considered the work very beautiful, concluded the contract, fixed the price, but from that time was seen no more. The anxious painter set himself to find out the stranger's name and eventually learned that he was *Maistro Laurentio*, otherwise Lorenzo Leonbruno, painter to the Marquess of Mantua. And without more ado he writes to the Marquess "to inform him of my name as also of my work. My name is the said Victor Carpatio" *(per dargli notitia sì del nome mio come anche de la opera. Il nome mio è dicto Victor Carpatio)*—continues the painter, and as for the work, the fate of which is unknown to him, he candidly states that in our days (*agli tempi nostri*) there is no other like it for excellence and complete perfection as well as for size (*simile si de bontà et integra perfectione come anche de grandeza*).

Ingenuous words, which give us a glimpse of the craftsman's mind, confident of his own value and therefore disdaining alike that modesty which at times is but a cloak for hypocrisy and that pride which is too often synonymous with vanity. We like to imagine Carpaccio with the smiling serenity of a great soul undisturbed by painful vicissitudes, unshaken by extraordinary adventures, chaste in his life as in his art, measured alike in his speech and in his sentiments, good, affable, courteous, free from envy, beloved and respected.

So at least he appears to us from the honest sincerity of his

[1] Both the Marquess Francesco and the Marchioness Isabella at the beginning of the sixteenth century spared no effort to secure drawings of cities in order to reproduce them in fresco on the walls of their vast saloons, as indeed was done in the Palace at Marmirolo, now destroyed. The *Jerusalem* of Carpaccio would have served a similar purpose It does not appear in the records in the Mantuan Archives that the correspondence was continued, nor do we believe that Carpaccio had, as Giambellino and Titian certainly did, any other relations with the Court of Mantua.

work wherein so great a part of the soul of the craftsman is revealed. To the amiability of his character and of his art and to the graciousness of his reputation a harsh contrast is created by the very vulgar name of Scarpazza, which is not—as Milanesi supposes in his *Notes* to Vasari—"*a corruption of Carpaccio, his true surname.*" Nor, as others assert, was his real name that of *Scarpa*, a common appellation even to this day among the Venetians and the inhabitants of Chioggia; since the family of our painter is in the earliest documents called always *Scarpazza*. The painter would be obliged to follow the fashion set by Humanism and give his name a Latin form and savour. To translate the name into Latin, as was frequently done, was in this case impossible: *calceus* was not an exact version nor was there any way of preserving the depreciative sense of the termination. The only alternative was to give the name a mere semblance of Latinity: and Vettore had recourse probably to some Humanist, who, knowing well that Ancient Rome had no words beginning with *Scarp*, turned it into *carpacius* or *carpatius*, adding also an *h* to the *t* of the last syllable, because in Latin words one very often finds that foreign peculiarity. In this way the artist could unite his own name with that of distant countries and places. Not, indeed, with the Carpathian mountains, which in the Greek of Ptolemy are not written with the *θ* but only with the *τ* (Καρπάτυς ὄρος), but rather with the island of Κάρπαθος in the Greek Archipelago (the Κράπαθος of the *Iliad*, ii. 676), which became corrupted into *Scarpanto*, in Latin *Carpathus*, whence the adjective *Carpathius*.

But the spelling of the name continued, as at first, to vary considerably. Just as the name in the documents appears variously as *Scarpazza*, *Scharpaza*, *Scarpazzo*, *Scarpazo*, *Scarpatia*, *Scarpatio*, so in our artist's paintings we find the name written in these different forms: *Carpatio*, *Charpatio*, *Carpatius*, *Carpathius*, *Carpacio*. The form most frequently used in pictures of greater importance is *Carpathius*. In the only autograph that remains to us Vittore subscribes himself *Carpazio*. His son Benedetto writes *Carpaco*, without the cedilla (ç) so frequently met with in Venetian documents. Among writers on Art also the form of the name of our painter varies. Vasari and Francesco Sansovino write *Scarpaccia*; Martinioni in his additions to Sansovino's *Venetia*, *Scarpaccio*. Ridolfi and Boschini were the first to use the form *Carpaccio*, which was then adopted without further alterations.

If the data are few concerning Vettore's life we are provided even less with anything in the shape of an authentic bodily likeness. Not a painting, not a drawing, not an engraving exists:

not even one of those admirable medals which were struck in such great quantities reproducing the features of the most illustrious men of the day; such as Vittore Camelio did for Gentile and Giovanni Bellini.

Vasari states that he had succeeded in finding portraits of Carpaccio, but it is not known where, and no dependence can be placed on the portraits published by the biographer of Arezzo. Nor is the portrait in Ridolfi's work any more trustworthy. This writer, though able to give true likenesses of the painters more nearly contemporary with himself, was compelled for the earlier ones to trust to the imagination of his draughtsmen.

At page 34 in the Index of the *Storia Pittorica* of Padre Lanzi, published by Giovanni de Lazaro, this note occurs:

"Carpaccio, Vettore, Venetian. His work up to 1520, Zanetti. On the portrait that he painted himself, and which is in the possession of the heirs of the Giustiniani family on the Zattere, he inscribed the date 1522. MS. III. 40" (*Carpaccio Vettore Veneziano. Sue opere fino al 1520, Zanetti. Nel ritratto che fece di sè medesimo ed è presso gli Eredi Giustiniani alle Zattere scrisse per data 1522. MS. III°.* 40).

This portrait and date have been often cited, notably by Federici;[1] but more recent writers, like Cavalcaselle, declare that they had no knowledge of it, without giving themselves the trouble of tracing the picture itself which still exists in the Giustiniani Picture Gallery.

The Gallery of the Palazzo Giustiniani Recanati on the Zattere is a surviving example of those ancient picture-galleries that belonged to the Venetian patricians. The pictures are let into the walls in stucco frames exactly as we may suppose that they were when Padre Lanzi saw them; and the alleged portrait of Carpaccio bears the number 88. It is painted on a panel and measures 21 by 27 centimetres. It represents a man of about forty years of age with fair hair but darker beard, wearing a round black cap and a white shirt just showing against his black dress. The left hand rests upon a book, and our attention is caught by a Greek inscription which runs: Εἷς ᾳφκβ', Μηνὶ Αὐγούστου κη' Χείρ Βιτόρε, which signifies: "In 1522 on the 28th day of the month of August by the hand of Vittore."

There is nothing in this picture, with its glare of garish lights and shades, that is distinctive of the work of Carpaccio. And if the style did not betray another hand we could not possibly suppose that Carpaccio would have painted this youthful figure as

[1] Federici (*Lett. sulle B.A., Trev.*), vol. i. p. 288, writes, "We have seen the portrait of this painter (Carpaccio) in the Giustiniani Picture-Gallery on the Zattere, and the painting is dated 1522, at which time he was still alive."

43 Portrait in the Giustiniani Gallery, Zattere, Venice. By Vittore Greco.

44 Portrait of Carpaccio. From "Le Meraviglie dell' Arte," by Carlo Ridolfi.

a portrait of himself in 1522 when he was already in the decline of life. It would also be very strange that the painter, even if reviving his youthful lineaments in a painting, should have written his name and the date in Greek. It is obvious, on the other hand, that the true author of the painting was writing Greek as his native language. The portrait is unquestionably that of the painter Vittore di Giovanni, a Greek, who was enrolled in the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, and must also have been skilled in the art of singing, since documents record that he sang in the processions of that Scuola. Nor did the gentler arts prevent his offering his arm in defence of his native place and the land of his adoption, since he asked leave of the Republic to embark in a galley that went to fight against the Turks. He came back safe and turned once more to the painting of Greek *Madonnas*, the cult of which had not ceased among the Venetians.

The unimpeachable authority of documents dispelling the dreams of the romance, separating truth from error, proves that no portrait of Carpaccio exists and that the portrait which many have believed to be his own picture painted by himself is neither of him nor by him.

CHAPTER III

THE TIMES, THE CONTEMPORARIES, THE PROTECTORS, AND THE STUDIES OF VETTOR CARPACCIO

EVERYONE now recognizes even in its intellectual form the action of the law of environment upon the human organism. No genius, however original, stands altogether isolated from common life. Rather does he live and develope in correspondence with the customs and the culture of his period; and the work of art considered by itself is a living organism, like a plant which only flourishes under certain conditions, outside which it withers and dies. For this reason the natural attitude of a people variously disposed towards æsthetics by diversity of race, climate and time exercises a mighty influence upon its works of art. Thus in Tuscany the æsthetic sense, tempered by the grace, simplicity and harmonious unison of its scenery, creates an Art whose typical features are refinement of characteristic and delicate outline, and spiritual distinction of form. In Venice the luminous atmosphere that floods the mirror of the Lagoons, robbing the outlines of all distinctness, and kindling and uniting the most varied colouring in wondrous harmony, necessarily evolved a style of painting that would reflect in the brilliant fusion of its tints the splendour and sensuousness alike of the scenery and of the civilization that surrounded it. From the earliest period of Venetian Art the painters, yet timid and inexperienced, but born and living amid the opalescence of sky and waters, the effulgence of Byzantine mosaic and the gorgeous hues of Oriental stuffs, one and all manifest a taste for colour and a sense of decorative effect which are as the reflection of a joyous spirit and of a life instinct with pomp and pageant.

Of this world and of this life Carpaccio is the ablest exponent, and the interest with which his work is now studied is due not only to the purity and nobility of his art, but also to the fact that he affords so truthful and vivid description of Venice in the

days of her greatest beauty. We may assert without fear of exaggeration that the ancient City of the Islands is nowhere revealed more completely than in the drawings of Carpaccio and the *Diaries* of Marino Sanudo. In the paintings of the one and the pages of the other the most homely and curious particulars abound to such a degree as actually to produce in us the illusion of living those joyous days over again.

And the Age of Carpaccio was indeed for Venice an Age of Gold. No other city could bear comparison with her for the wisdom of her laws, her military power and her commercial wealth: the splendour of her palaces, the abundance of gold and silver plate, of jewels and of all that contributes to the comfort, luxury, and refinement of civilized life. The struggle Venice maintained against rival states and against the Turks, her rapid conquests on the mainland, proved no hindrance to the loving care bestowed by her citizens on all that pertained to her internal improvement: wells were dug, streets were paved and bridges of stone spanned the deepened canals. Stately palaces arose on the Grand Canal, swift boats skimmed the Lagoons: through the streets and squares strolled crowds of gorgeously attired ladies, grave patricians in long robes, and Orientals garbed in outlandish costumes; together striking the key-note of a novel but pleasing colour harmony. Philippe de Commines, Ambassador to Charles VIII., at the sight of Venice exclaimed enthusiastically, "*C'est la plus triomphante cité que j'aye jamais veu et qui plus fait d'honneur à ambassadeurs et estrangiers.*"

It seemed as though Venice under the Doge Michele Steno celebrated the opening of this new era with the first year of the fifteenth century. Then the City of the Lagoons began to wax triumphant in sumptuous apparel, gems and golden raiment, and from that time onwards jousts, tournaments and the processions of the trades followed one another as in a fantastic dream. It was, moreover, those days that saw the formation of the famous *Compagnie della Calza* which set upon Venice the stamp of a refinement hitherto unknown. The Dogeship of Tommaso Mocenigo (1413-23) marked the zenith of Venetian power, and the discourse uttered by this grand Doge to his Ministers standing around his death-bed testifies to that sovereign opulence which was publicly displayed in the triumphant progresses of the Doges and their wives, in the solemn reception of kings, princes and ambassadors, in the magnificence of the pageants and in the luxury of the banquets.

The entire social system in which Carpaccio lived and moved concurred to form the artist. He needed but to paint what went on under his eyes to give life in his pictures to the aspect and

colour of that existence illumined by the soft serene light of the Venetian sky; and his eyes were accustomed by daily experience to the shimmer of silk, to the intense brilliance of purple, to the thousand varieties and the thousand aspects of every kind of attire.

Carpaccio with his brush was the most truthful chronicler of a people living in the full meridian of their glory, and some of his pictures illustrate in a marvellous manner those splendid ceremonies the fame of which remains, though in less lifelike and telling fashion, in ancient records at the Archives.

Venice was wont to display a special magnificence in her receptions of the princes and ambassadors of great nations; the better to proclaim her wealth and power. Whenever any exalted personage announced his arrival a deputation of thirty noblemen, robed in silk, chosen from among the senior or junior members of their order, according to the rank of the expected guest, were sent to welcome him. If however a King, a Sovereign Prince or an Ecclesiastic of high rank were expected the Doge himself would go forth to meet him on board his gilded *Bucentaur*. Guests of greatest dignity were usually brought to the city in triumph by way of the sea; this being the most beautiful and stately approach. Sometimes they would land at one of the convents built upon the islands that encircled Venice: at S. Maria delle Grazie, for example, at S. Clemente or at S. Spirito; and thither the Doge would repair, or the Patricians deputed[1] to attend their guest to Venice.

The Kings and Princes honoured by these state receptions were many during these two most brilliant centuries of Venetian history. It may be that Carpaccio, though but a lad, was present at the entrance into Venice of the Emperor Frederic III.: and perhaps long afterwards his memory evolved the gorgeous images of that pageant. In 1468 the Emperor, after his visit to Rome, approached Venice by way of Chioggia. The Procuratori di San Marco and thirteen of the Senators went forth to pay their respects to him at the Augustinian Convent on the island of S. Spirito, where the Emperor spent the night. The next morning the Doge attended by the Senate appeared before Frederic, and after mutual embraces (*post mutuos amplexus*) they proceeded together to the neighbouring island of S. Clemente, where the *Bucentaur* awaited them, having failed, owing to the shallowness of the water, to approach the island of S. Spirito. On board the Ducal barge the Emperor seated himself on a chair of state (*cathedra honore disposita*) and a procession was formed of galleys, boats and rafts, draped with cloth of gold; besides "other vessels with wonderful

[1] *Archivio di Stato. Ceremoniali*, No. I. p. xii.

regal adornment" (*et alii navigi ornatu regio admirabili*). Public proclamation forbade the wearing of mourning during the stay of their illustrious guests; the bells of S. Marco rang festal chimes; and amid the blare of trumpets and musical instruments of every kind the people shouted applause. In the church of S. Marco a throne ablaze with gold had been prepared for Frederic, and on another, two steps lower, was seated the Doge. The State Rooms of the Palace were magnificently furnished, and in the Hall of the Great Council a sumptuous banquet was served, at which a bevy of noble ladies were present resplendent with jewels. Frederic, who stayed several days in Venice, usually wore black, but on the day of his entry he was clad in "a very precious golden mantle" (*veste aurea preciosissima*) presented to him in Rome by Pope Paul II.[1]

It is at all events certain that our painter witnessed the reception accorded to Duke Ercole of Ferrara and his son Alfonso on Feb. 27th, 1487 (O.S.) at the invitation of the Company of the *Calza* styled *dei Prudenti*, who, so the chronicler Malipiero tells us, were attired in gowns of crimson velvet, lined with sable and with sleeves edged with pearls. The meeting between the Doge and the Duke of Ferrara is depicted in the painting which, as we have said, was probably executed in the workshop of Lazzaro Bastiani, and from possible participation in which we do not exclude Carpaccio.

As a delineator of contemporary spectacles no other Italian craftsman can be compared to Carpaccio except Pinturicchio, who, though like him inadequate in the expression of stirring or dramatic ideas, yet understood equally how to produce a faithful representation of the luxury which displays itself in the streets and public places and to set before us, as in a delightful romance, the beautiful and spacious life of Italy with the facile ingenuousness and naïve grace peculiar to the Umbrian nature—uninfluenced, however, by the artificial suavity of Perugino.

From the public shows in street and square Carpaccio introduces us to the interiors of houses and revives for us the home life of the Venetians. Suites of rooms are portrayed with wonderful effects of light such as no other Italian artist before him succeeded in achieving. The severe but elegant furniture, chairs of restrained design and gorgeous bed draperies are reproduced in their minutest detail; although the fidelity exhibited in copying minor details is never allowed to diminish the importance of the principal objects. No trifles seem to escape this acute observer—from the heads so admirably drawn and painted to the sumptuous robes; from the architecture rich in marbles to the gracefully

[1] *Ibid. ibid.* pp. xiv and xiv bis.

designed stool, or the delicate tracery of an embroidered hanging or a many-hued Oriental carpet. All is here rendered with restraint of touch and delicacy in draughtsmanship and colour; with an art of such refinement that, if it is not always capable of avoiding a certain tendency to rigidity, is yet far removed from those disagreeably affected methods which distort reality.

The dry-as-dust Inventories of the Archives are, as it were, illustrated by Carpaccio's paintings, and he is a unique example in Italian Art for the care with which he reproduces all the familiar details of domestic life. In this respect no rival can be found to him except in the Transalpine, notably the Flemish, Schools. Indeed the study of the Western (*ponentini*) painters, like Van Eyck, Van der Weyden and Memling, enabled him to assimilate certain of the realistic merits of Northern Art.

Anton Maria Zanetti aptly describes Carpaccio with the words that he "had truth in his soul" (*avea nel cuore la verità*); and a careful and intelligent study of facts taught him how to express in his paintings all the most varied manifestations of Venetian life, public and private. His pictures have no need of explanatory comment to enable us to grasp at once the subject of the incident, the momentary motion expressed in the figures and the intended characteristic of the period, even if the event represented does not rise to the solemnity of an historical occurrence, but is limited to the humbler proportions of a domestic episode:—a fragment of city life. Directness of purpose, intuition and clearness of vision assist him in finding the gestures and movements appropriate to the figures, and the sense of reality that he imparts to the scene by causing the main action to stand out devoid of idle or disturbing accompaniment is a merit that we seek for in vain in Gentile Bellini, whose pictures need a long commentary on account of the secondary episodes which distract the eye from the principal subject and too often occasion bewilderment. Carpaccio represents what he sees: events in all their phases; individuals in their everyday attitudes and gestures: for instance that most telling figure of a man writing in the painting of the *Reception of the Ambassadors by the father of S. Orsola.*

Neither does the diligence displayed by the painter in copying surrounding objects with all their manifest detail, which might appear tedious to the superficial observer, exclude an intimate and profound feeling for nature. In many of Carpaccio's paintings around the massive and stately architecture of the Quattrocento—the palaces, porticoes and towers: behind the banners of the Republic floating in the breeze, there stretches the open country, the beautiful mainland which the dwellers on the Lagoons had commenced to desire and to conquer. And mingled with the

45 THE SCRIBE. In the Picture of "The Dismissal of the Ambassadors."

46 DETAIL OF FIGURES. By Carpaccio.

visible poetry exhaled by the sunshine and the waters of Venice—even by her very stones—it seems as though a breath of rural peace is wafted from the verdant hills, the groves of trees and the placid tarns of the background; portrayed, indeed, with a certain lack of boldness, yet with such felicitous perception of atmospheric effect as to foreshadow already the landscapes of Giorgione and of Titian. In this respect Carpaccio really was an innovator.

But his was not the intense idealism nor the far-reaching imagination of other contemporary craftsmen such as Giambellino and Mantegna. He was not student enough to reconstruct for us the life of past ages like Mantegna, who lays before us so powerfully the world of Ancient Rome; neither did he possess the spontaneous vivacity of a ready and inventive fancy, nor that faculty of intense emotional expression the absence of which in some of his paintings conveys an impression of somewhat prosaic aridity. His scenes impress us in a totally different manner: they materialize for us the reality as it appeared at the period.

In his eagerness to relate them Carpaccio multiplies the episodes, as though fearful lest any portion of the lovely scenes around him might escape his notice. His aim above all is truth, alike in gesture and in expression, regardless of their bearing upon the dignity of Biblical events; attiring his Saints and their legends in contemporary Venetian garb and imbuing them with all the gladness that he has himself experienced in contemplating the sights around him. This naïve realism animates his most sacred subjects: for instance in the great altarpiece of S. Giobbe where the high priest Simeon in his episcopal robes stands behind the altar between two *cardinals*. So far was Carpaccio from conceiving or depicting anything that he had not actually witnessed. As regards anachronism in costume he enjoyed, be it observed, the countenance of other painters, more especially among the Venetians. Gentile Bellini represents S. Mark amid women in Turkish and men in Albanian costume; whilst Paul Veronese later on shows us the beautiful daughter of Agenor garbed in the sumptuous vesture of a Venetian gentlewoman. Reality alone inspired these great men, less critical but more truly artistic than ourselves. Little recked they of historic fact or accuracy in costume. All that they strove for was life, expression, movement, grouping and combination of colour. Amid the very improbabilities of the details, and indeed in spite of them, shine out the eternal truths of nature.

And we must likewise take into account another most important factor in the development of Carpaccio's artistic conception, observing how he seems at times to arrive at a visual perception of the mystic East, the motherland of peoples, of religions and of sciences.

Some writers, having noticed Oriental landscapes, buildings and

costumes in certain among the painter's works, have imagined that he also, like Gentile Bellini, had visited the East; one critic, indeed, without further ado despatches him in company with that artist to Constantinople upon the occasion when a Jewish envoy (*orator judeo*) from Mahomet II. asked for a clever painter and the Signoria sent Bellini with the Romanian galleys on September 3rd, 1479 (*con le galie di Romania adì 3 settembre 1479*).[1]

The report of Vittore's journey to the East is given by Cesare Vecellio in the first edition (1590) of his *Customs* (*Habiti*),[2] where on the back of p. 84, in the section concerning "Ambassadors and Consuls sent to Soria (Syria) and other places" (*Ambasciatori et Consoli mandati in Soria et in altre parti*), he writes, "By the Soldan . . . there having been afterwards summoned a certain Vittore Scarpe, who was the most diligent painter of his day" (*Dal Soldan . . . essendo poi chiamato un certo Vittore Scarpe, il quale era diligentissimo pittore dei tempi suoi*).

We would remark in the first place that *Scarpe* and *Scarpazza* are not the same name, any more than the painter Alvise *Vivarini* is the painter Alvise *Bavarini*, although these two persons might by such critical methods be made into one. But admitting even that Vecellio does allude to Vittore Carpaccio, the celebrated painter's fortunate journey to the remote Eastern shores could not be held as proven from that solitary allusion. Had he really so journeyed would not some notice have been found in other writings—more especially had he accompanied Bellini? We may be told that Vecellio's statement is sufficient; but if his authority is valuable descriptively speaking it is not always historically accurate, since he never, for example, takes the trouble to state the sources whence he draws his information nor the paintings nor the artists whence he obtained many of his illustrations. He wrote, moreover, about seventy-five years after Carpaccio's death and, brilliant draughtsman if not so scrupulous historian, he may easily have fallen into error, being the first perhaps to pay attention to some gossip which he repeated later without seeking for confirmation either by documentary or critical evidence. It should be observed that the statement concerning this Vittore Scarpe, painter, which is to be found in the edition of 1590, disappears from the later reprints of 1598 and 1664. We believe the tale to be devoid of any foundation whatsoever; indeed it seems to us well proven that Carpaccio did not paint the Oriental landscapes in the background of some of his pictures from nature.

Mr. Sidney Colvin, the Keeper of the Print Room in the British

[1] Sanudo, *Cronache Veneziane*. Jacopo Morelli, *Notiz. Op. di Disegno d'un Anonimo*, p. 99. Ed. Frizzoni.

[2] *Degli habiti antichi e moderni*. Libri due fatti da Cesare Vecellio. In Venetia, 1590.

Museum, a critic of untiring diligence and wide culture, was, as a matter of fact, the first to discover that certain buildings, castles and towers were taken from the drawings of Reuvich, illustrating Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, a work printed at Mayence in 1486. He was fortunate enough to secure for the British Museum a drawing by Carpaccio which is unquestionably a sketch of the landscape for the painting *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair* in the Scuola di S. Orsola series. According to the inscription the drawing purports to represent the *Harbour of Ancona*. But this inscription is modern and certainly erroneous, and Mr. Colvin's careful researches have enabled him to establish that the large tower there depicted really is that which defends the harbour of Rhodes, copied, as a critical examination shows, from Reuvich's drawings. Many of these are landscapes and views of cities, and among them Carpaccio not only found the great tower of Rhodes but also another tower, that of Candia, which he has introduced into the next picture of the series.

Mr. Colvin has not carried his valuable observations further, nor completed his fruitful researches by instituting a thoroughgoing parallel between Carpaccio's work and Reuvich's engravings. But continuing his interrupted studies from this point, and comparing the illustrations in this old German book side by side with other works, not only by Carpaccio but by other painters, such as Alvise Donato, and by certain unknown engravers, who illustrated the books published by Stanerius, we at once comprehend what a fount of inspiration Reuvich's drawings proved for all these works, and whence Carpaccio gathered ideas, not merely for palaces and landscapes but also for figures and costumes. Yet if in Carpaccio's pictures it had been only buildings, castles, towers and country scenery that were identical with, or similar to, those in Reuvich's engravings one could suppose that both artists had by chance reproduced exactly the same subjects. But when Carpaccio repeats the same figures with the same costumes and with attitudes even identical with those drawn by Reuvich, then even the most cursory judgment must admit that the Venetian painter had gazed upon the East through the medium of the German draughtsman. Indeed, we cannot believe that Carpaccio would have travelled in the East without taking the trouble to make drawings of landscapes, sketches of figures, etc., such as Gentile Bellini brought back in abundance. And even less can we believe that, returning from those distant lands with a goodly store of studies, he would have had need to refer for his Oriental costumes to Breydenbach's work, which he drew upon, not from a vulgar desire to plagiarize but rather from a scruple of exactitude, in order to give to his scenes,—according to the modern

phrase—local colour. For instance, in one of Reuvich's drawings representing Jerusalem a spot bears the inscription: *locus ubi fuit lapidatus Sanctus Stephanus*; and Carpaccio, with his passion for exact detail, transfers that very portion into his painting of the *Stoning of S. Stephen.* As regards models for costume the painter could profit besides by the many Orientals who in bizarre guise strolled about the streets of Venice.

Vasari's misapprehension in dividing the name of Lazzaro Bastiani into two brothers Lazzaro and Sebastiano, the alleged pupils of Carpaccio, has long been refuted, and we believe that we have given unanswerable chronological proof of the falsity of the assertions so often repeated by authoritative critics that Bastiani learnt the rudiments of his art from Carpaccio.

Study of the artist's technique has moreover strengthened our conviction that Bastiani was Carpaccio's master; the similarity in style of certain paintings having often led to the attribution of works by the less-known master to his famous pupil. That Carpaccio in the early years of his youth was Bastiani's apprentice may also be conjectured from two paintings; one representing the Duke of Ferrara in Venice, and the other a group of men standing around a horse. Both of these works probably came out of Bastiani's *bottega* and in both may be observed the germs of the two leading features of Carpaccio's genius: his taste for public display and his minute observation of domestic incidents.

No details are insignificant in tracing the derivation of an artist's manner. A careful examination of Bastiani's backgrounds shows frequent examples of conventional treatment of trees; a mannerism peculiar to himself and to his School—differing greatly from the rigid and singular methods in which Jacopo and Gentile Bellini designed their trees. Sometimes, as in the *Annunciation* at the Museo Civico in Venice and the *Virgin* in the Chapel at the Doge's Palace, Bastiani draws his palm-trees in the likeness of a paint-brush. Now Carpaccio in 1490 in his first known work, the *Arrival of S. Orsola at Cologne*, imitates the peculiar flattened form of Lazzaro's trees and in the later compositions of the S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni Cycle he paints his palms in the same brushlike manner as his master. Details such as these appear insignificant, but to the student and close observer they form certain *criteria*, by which we may recognize whence and how a painter's manner was acquired.

In the scanty pages devoted by Vasari to Carpaccio he stands forth as the leader of the Lombardo-Venetian School, to which belong also other painters who may be counted among his followers, such as Giovanni Mansueti and Benedetto Diana. By no mere chance are these three names linked together. Carpaccio, Mansueti

47 Tree-forms by Bastiani.
In the Picture of the Madonna at Verona.

48 Tree in the Picture of "S. George and the Dragon."
By Carpaccio. In the "Scuola dei Dalmati," Venice.

49 Tree in the Picture of "The Arrival at Cologne."
By Carpaccio.

and Benedetto Diana actually form a species of artistic union; first in the *bottega* of Lazzaro Bastiani, their earliest master, and later on in the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, where these three youths collaborated in the decoration of the Hall of the Holy Cross.

Even were not Bastiani's name joined to that of Diana in painting the Standards of S. Mark the artistic connexion between the two painters would be revealed by their works; notably by a painting in the Royal Palace at Venice representing the *Madonna between two noble Venetians.*[1] Now in this painting, which Boschini and Cavalcaselle have justly assigned to Benedetto Diana[2] on account of the angular treatment of the drapery peculiar to this artist, the relations with the art of Bastiani are evident. The enthroned Virgin is inspired by *S. Veneranda*, the landscape exhibits features identical with those affected by Lazzaro, whom Diana imitates even in his characteristic shortcomings, such as the small and characterless heads of his figures. Carpaccio and Diana, both pupils of the same master, are in some of their works so much alike as to deceive the best experts: as in fact did occur in the case of the well-known *Christ at Emmaus* in the church of S. Salvatore, long attributed to Bellini, and afterwards assigned by Cavalcaselle to Carpaccio on grounds of style, colouring and composition, until with greater show of reason other connoisseurs, notably Giovanni Morelli, recognized in it the hand of Benedetto Diana.

In regard to Mansueti, if we would observe how he has maintained his artistic affinity with Carpaccio, despite the imitation of Gentile Bellini,[3] we need but examine the paintings by these two craftsmen which are hung in the adjoining rooms in the Venice Academy.

In Jacopo Bello we doubtless have another pupil of Lazzaro Bastiani. According to Boschini there was a painting by him in the Ufficio dei Camerlenghi at Venice, which is now to be seen in the Imperial Museum in Vienna. The landscape bears a close affinity to his master's style, the angel musicians greatly resemble those in the painting at Murano and recall the Infant in one of Bastiani's *Madonnas*. These few scraps of information are all that we know concerning the life and work of Jacopo Bello.

It was also believed that Carpaccio had in his early years frequented the *bottega* of Antonio Vivarini and had then imitated the forms and methods of the Bellini brothers. But there is no resemblance between the style of Carpaccio and that

[1] We have been able to fix 1486 as the date of this painting. Indeed, in this year the *Provveditori* of the Mint, whence the painting came, were Francesco Trevisan and Girolamo Pesaro, the two donors who caused their coats of arms to be painted on the Madonna's throne.

[2] Boschini, *Le Ricche Minere*, Sestiere S. Marco, p. 65. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. Paint Italy*, V. i. p. 225.

[3] In Mansueti's painting representing *A Miracle of the Holy Cross* he has portrayed himself on the left-hand side holding a scroll with the inscription *Opus Joannis de Mansuetis veneti recte sentientium Bellini discipli.*

of Antonio Vivarini; nor in our opinion can it be said that he had for his master Giovanni Bellini, a craftsman so admirable in the candour and idealism of his religious conceptions. Although Bellini did occasionally paint historical compositions, as for example the paintings at the Doge's Palace, yet his suave and contemplative genius was ill-suited to profane subjects and he appears to us always as though absorbed in visions of Saints and fair-haired Virgins, disdaining to lend his talents to other than sacred subjects.

But not even when Carpaccio paints religious subjects does one find a single inspiration drawn from that great master Giambellino, in whose wake followed all the Venetian artists, from Carpaccio's own two sons Pietro and Benedetto to Diana and Mansueti, who had at first adopted the manner of Lazzaro Bastiani. Bellini was considered the unique exponent of *Madonnas*; and just as the *Faun of Praxiteles* was once deemed so perfect an archetype as to be styled περιβόητος (*the famous one*) and to be copied times without number by the sculptors of antiquity, so in like manner were the types of Bellini's Virgins repeated by Venetian painters. Catena, Bissolo and others clung without any variation to one type of Bellini Madonna; another was repeated by the selfsame Bissolo and by Bartolomeo Veneto; a third by Rocco Marconi in the picture preserved at Strasburg: and finally yet another Bellini type—*The Madonna in the Act of Benediction*, the copy of a lost original—must have been the ideal which inspired Lorenzo Lotto, Previtali, Mansueti, Marziale and even a painter in the Byzantine style. Bellini's painting of the *Circumcision* has also been copied repeatedly. Two of these are signed by Vincenzo (*dalle Destre*) of Treviso, another by Bissolo and yet another by Marco Bello. On the other hand, the unpretending, human and homely Madonnas and Saints of Carpaccio never reveal in any single feature the mystic inspiration of Bellini.

We should add that neither was Carpaccio an imitator nor a follower of Gentile Bellini, with whom he has no other link except that like Gentile he also portrays decorative scenes with large and varied crowds of people.

Some people would assume with too great confidence that Carpaccio's art, especially in regard to aerial perspective, is derived from that of Gentile. In truth, if we set aside the conventional estimates of critics who only copy each other's opinions, and if we but look with unprejudiced eyes upon the works of Bellini we shall arrive at the conclusion that between Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio there exists no artistic relationship whatsoever.

Of Gentile's paintings in the Doge's Palace nothing remains but the record. Francesco Sansovino says that in 1479 the painter being summoned, along with others, to restore the old paintings in

50 MADONNA AND SAINTS AND DONOR.
By Benedetto Diana. In the Royal Palace, Venice (1486).

51 CHRIST AND FOUR SAINTS. In the Imperial Museum, Vienna.
By Jacopo Bello.

the Hall of the Greater Council, "effaced many of them, rather moved by envy to destroy the glory of others than that he to any great extent improved upon the former paintings" (*ne velò molti piuttosto per cancellar l' altrui gloria mosso da invidia, che perchè egli migliorasse gran fatto le pitture passate*).[1] Other works of his have fortunately reached us uninjured; but for reasons of date and style they cannot have had any influence upon Carpaccio's genius. Besides the four organ-doors in S. Mark's completed by Gentile in 1464, which reveal the influence of the Paduan School, we have the portrait of *Mahomet II.* in the Layard Collection at Venice and two original drawings in the British Museum, representing a Turkish man and woman. The other drawings bearing the name of Gentile, preserved in the Louvre and the Frankfurt Museum, and erroneously assigned by Venturi to Pinturicchio, are copies by another hand.

The Museum at Pesth possesses a panel by Gentile, more important as an historical document than as a work of art. It represents *Queen Caterina Cornaro*, whom the painter also portrayed amid a group of women in the painting of *A Miracle of the Cross*.

In the Venice Academy is preserved the portrait of *S. Lorenzo Giustiniani*, copied from a miniature; but many portraits that pass under the name of Gentile in other picture galleries are not by him and therefore do not deserve the praises of certain critics, who admire his skill, the correctness of his draughtsmanship and his depth of feeling in portraying the human figure. The very beautiful portrait, for instance, in the National Gallery of *Fra Teodoro da Urbino* is not by Gentile. The canvas bears the authentic signature of Giovanni Bellini and the date 1515, whilst documents further prove that the Friar only rose to eminence after Gentile's death, and it is scarcely credible that he was portrayed earlier. There are, nevertheless, critics who still believe the portrait of Fra Teodoro to be the work of Gentile Bellini.

Nor can the two portraits of Doges in the Museo Civico in Venice be considered his handiwork; paintings in which a few authoritative judges think that they can discover the manner of Bartolomeo Vivarini.

It might be suggested that Carpaccio had formed his style by studying the work of Gentile Bellini in his well-known composition for the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista. But these three paintings were completed between 1496 and 1500 and Carpaccio in 1490 had already displayed a manner entirely his own at the Scuola di S. Orsola. It is needless to refer to the picture at the Scuola di S. Marco, since it comes within the last period of Gentile's life and was finished by his brother Giovanni.

[1] Sansovino, *Lett. intorno al Pal. Ducale*, etc., p. 24. Venice: Alvisopoli.

A less-known painting, unsigned by its author, unrecorded by history and of uncertain origin, is the much-praised *Adoration of the Magi* preserved in the Layard Collection. But this picture, even without contesting its authenticity, is altogether repainted and cannot serve as a test for comparison with the works of other craftsmen.

That, as has been asserted, Carpaccio learnt the art of perspective from Gentile Bellini does not appear probable either, since in the pictures by the latter the perspective is by no means always exact: the *Procession in the Piazza of S. Marco* with four different vanishing points, and *A Miracle of the Cross* with two, are examples of this defect. Moreover the relative positions of the buildings are inaccurate, so that from the extremity of the Piazza di S. Marco we perceive the Porta della Carta which would be hidden by the Campanile; and in the scene of *A Miracle of the Cross* the Fondamenta di S. Lorenzo, of which the general appearance is the same to-day as it was then, the palaces and buildings are reproduced with a somewhat fantastic idea of drawing. Now if Carpaccio in this matter must have had a teacher of perspective, a science which can only be learnt and is not evolved by the spontaneous force of genius, that master was without doubt Lazzaro Bastiani, who excelled in that particular branch, and in that respect surpassed Jacopo Bellini. And here in truth Carpaccio also ended by surpassing his master, especially in aerial perspective and in painting interiors, which he, the first among the Venetians, treated with astonishing effects of chiaroscuro, such as were never achieved by Giovanni Bellini himself, who in his perspective effects is somewhat hard and dry.

Moreover it is alleged that Carpaccio owes not a little to Gentile Bellini in the form, expression and attitude of his figures: not considering that the latter, though certainly endowed with much feeling and force of colouring, is not so successful in depicting the human countenance and figure. Bellini sketches his outline sharply, a method which imparts to the countenance but little depth, whilst Carpaccio with deft touches of colour paints the human face in all its living energy. In the analysis of human expression he is at once the precursor and initiator of the New Art with that psychological acumen which assists him to explore the secret recesses of the soul: whence it comes that the faces painted by him assume a highly individualized character and an eloquence that masters us. If we turn instead to Gentile we find that his heads are painted without grace or beauty, with the small eyes and straight eyebrows so conspicuous in the portrait group of patricians in *A Miracle of the Cross.* Carpaccio's figures are free from the defects which we criticize in Gentile Bellini and they are drawn and coloured with a supreme refinement of which we have examples in the

54 PORTRAITS IN "THE PROCESSION IN THE PIAZZA OF S. MARK."
By Gentile Bellini.

55 PORTRAITS IN "A MIRACLE OF THE HOLY CROSS."
(The Portrait in the centre is believed to be that of the Artist.)
By Gentile Bellini.

56 Portraits in "The Reception of the Ambassadors by the Father of S. Ursula."
By Carpaccio.

57 A Courtier in the S. Ursula Cycle.
By Carpaccio.

58 Portrait attributed to Carpaccio, but more probably by Gio. Mansueti.
In the Accademia Carrara at Bergamo.

52 FIGURE OF A CAVALIER SALUTING
FROM "THE DEPARTURE OF S. URSULA" (1490).
By Carpaccio.

53 FIGURE OF A TRUMPETER
FROM "THE ARRIVAL OF S. URSULA AT ROME."
By Carpaccio.

graceful figure of the young nobleman saluting the Saint in the painting of the *Departure of S. Ursula*, and that very attractive figure of a youth in the painting for the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista which was taken as a model of elegance by Vecellio in his book *Degli Habiti*. Well may it be said that Carpaccio has reproduced the men and manners of his day as in a photograph inspired by the genius of art; so that despite their close-fitting hose and many-coloured doublets we might swear that we had known these people and had conversed with them on familiar terms.

On this account it is the more to be regretted that no individual portrait by this incomparable student of nature has come down to us; since the only one that bears his name in the Galleria Carrara at Bergamo is not by him but by Mansueti. Of Carpaccio's skill in tracing the features and expression of the human countenance we have more than one record. The portrait of Girolama Corsi Ramos, a half-forgotten Tuscan poetess of the fifteenth century, was painted by Carpaccio with so exquisite a mastery as to move that lady to burst forth in the following enthusiastic sonnet:—

Quel che l' ingegno suo volse mostrare
in rittrar qui la propria mia figura,
puose nell' opra ogni sua arte e cura
per far la lingua mia pronta a parlare.

Ma i' ciel non volse questo comportare
dicendo un uom mortal usurpa e fura
quanto di potestate ebbe natura,
che fa che un legno un corpo vivo pare.

Se mi avete veduta non starete
di dir chi son, benchè talor il vero
per far falso parer altrui si tace.

Victor mi fece, sì come vedete,
degno di fama e di più alto impero,
che di tal arte è ben maestro verace.[1]

[1] Rossi, Vittorio, *Di una rimatrice e di un rimatore del sec. XV. Girolama Corsi Ramos e Iacopo Corsi.* (In *Giorn. Stor. della Lett. It.* vol. xv. p. 183. Turin, 1890.)

(N.B.—This and the poems that follow are practically untranslatable, but an attempt has been made to give their general sense.—*Translator.*)

That which his genius could put forth
By tracing here my very features,
All art and care in work he showed
To cause my lips to utter ready speech.

Yet heaven would not have this be
That mortal man usurp and steal
All omnipotence that nature hath possessed,
Who from a piece of wood would make a living thing.

Having even seen me you will not stay
To tell of me, since oft the truth
To give the lie preserveth silence.

Victor made me, as you see me,
Worthy of fame and of high dominion,
Who of such art is the very faithful master.

To these verses we should have preferred the painting which they celebrate; but since all the portraits by Carpaccio have unhappily been lost, let us turn to old records for the reflection at least of his brilliant colouring, together with an echo of the renown which surrounded his merits as an artist. This admiration was not always free from a strain of malignity; for Carpaccio earned praise, followed afterwards by virulent abuse, from a poet who was above all others passionate and grossly malicious: Andrea Michieli, surnamed Squarzòla or Strazzòla, a man who spent his days amid brothels, gambling hells and taverns. The abject habits of this vulgar rhymester are revealed in his *Canzoniere*,[1] which Professor Vittorio Rossi has illustrated with critical acuteness and erudition. Arrogant and overbearing, addicted to the foulest language and the basest desires, Strazzòla nevertheless enjoyed the protection of the patrician, Alvise Contarini, who had perhaps found a relaxation from political cares in the buffooneries and the fooling of this kind of jester. It is certain, however, that Contarini desired to possess a portrait of this impudent satirist and gave the commission to Carpaccio. Strazzòla, provoked it may be by some lampoon, had not spared Gentile Bellini from vilest insults, and he gives the following warning to Carpaccio:

Dovendomi ritrar, Vettor Scarpazzo,
a contemplazion del Contarino,
fa che non mi abbi del Gentil Bellino
perch' altramente ti teria da pazzo.

Che se de vita al mondo averò spazzo
adoprarò mio ingegno pelegrino
e farotti immortal non che divino,
talchè il prometter mio n' andarà a guazzo.

Or poni adonque diligenza e cura
nel dipingermi in catedra sedente
a guisa de chi a Padua ha una lettura.

E che le tempie mie sian de virente
fronde peneda cinte e non di dura
querce nè serto di Bromio ridente.

Ma fa che sii prudente
non meno in fatti che nelle parole,
come savio pittor costumar suole.[2]

[1] Rossi, Vittorio, *Il canzoniere inedito di Andrea Michieli detto Squarzòla o Strazzòla.* (In *Giorn. Stor. della Lett. It.* v. xxvi. pag. 1 e seg. Torino, 1895.)

[2] So you intend to portray me, Vettor Scarpazzo,
For Contarini's pleasure:
See you do not take me as Gentil Bellino,
Otherwise I'd think you mad.

That if of worldly life I should have plenty,
My wandering genius I will so apply
And immortal make you, if not divine,
E'en so my promise shall not melt away.

Then take thee diligence and care
To paint me throned in a professor's chair
As one of those who teach at Padua,

And let my temples be with verdant frond
Of laurel bound, and not with oak,
Nor Bacchus' boisterous wreath.

But see you prudent be
No less in deed than word;
As a wise painter is accustomed to.

As a jest, which shows him to us in a novel light, Carpaccio, instead of following the advice of the Sonnet, chose, perhaps in concert with Contarini, to raise a laugh against the malicious poet by representing him seated in a professorial chair, his temples encircled, not with laurel but with a garland of vine-leaves, better suited to the character of his model. Imagine Strazzòla's wrath! Friendship and esteem, till then freely bestowed by him upon the painter, gave place to fiercest hatred; and besides complaining bitterly to Contarini of the scurvy trick, he vituperated Carpaccio by a Sonnet and a *Strambotto*, wherein he grossly reviles the artist, violently abusing a painting which, it would seem, was another of the lost portraits. Here is the Sonnet:—

Due man depinte in foglio di papiro
vidi l'altr'ieri e par scorrer più inanti
mi parvero di lodra alcuni guanti,
ch' ànno perduto il pelo andando in giro.

E tanto più di tal cosa me adiro,
quanto più penso al dir de circumstanti,
che feceno il pittor de più prestanti
che mai col tempo vedesse alcun vivo.

Nè mi puoti restar ch' io non dicesse:
"Qual fu nel mondo mai tal bufalazzo
che meglio di costui non dipingesse?

Ombron no già, che fu si ignorantazzo,
che dipinse alla fin due peponesse,
credendo far un architetto, il pazzo."

Si chè il vostro Scarpazzo,
magnifico sol mio Contarino,
ben par discipol di Gentil Bellino.[1]

Strazzòla's admission is worth noting, since he is constrained to confess that fame declared the painter

"of most renown
that ever living man had yet beheld."

---

[1] Two hands painted on a sheet of paper
I saw two days ago, but at further sight
Methought they seemed gloves of otter-skin
That had shed their hair by passing from hand to hand.

Wherefore the greater was my wrath
When more I think of bystanders' report
Who made the painter one of most renown
That ever living man had yet beheld.

Nor could I then restrain my speech:
"Was there never in this world a greater blockhead,
Who better than this one could not his brushes use?

Dauber indeed that was so ignorant
Who painted at the last two melons huge,
Deeming himself an architect—the fool."

Behold your Scarpazzo,
That shining light, my trusty Contarino,
Seemeth indeed the henchman of Gentile Bellino.

And here is the *Strambotto*, never before published but courteously supplied to us by Professor Rossi :—

Due cere pincte ho visto di tua mano,
Che par facte di man di maistraccio ;
E l'una e l'altra d'un porco nostrano
Mi parve ciatte o viso menchiaccio ;
Tal ch'io non vedo sì sciocco villano
Che non facesse assai meglio un migliaccio,
E qualunque le han viste hanno stimado
Che sian picte di man mastro Rado.[1]

Strazzòla's poisoned darts also were directed against Antonio Vinciguerra, better known under the name of *Cronico*. Born in 1498 of a family originating from Recanati, Vinciguerra was employed in various delicate affairs of State and enjoyed high esteem among contemporary men of letters. Strazzòla, it seems, had befouled Cronico in certain Sonnets and *Strambotti*,[2] since an unnamed rhymester takes up his defence in two *Strambotti* wherein he condemns whoever would

". . . biasmar quel Cronico eccellente
Venerato tra i saggi come un nume."[3]

A piece of information of far greater import to us is furnished by this anonymous writer in another set of verses : namely, that a portrait of Vinciguerra by Carpaccio once existed, and it seems was so excellent and speaking a likeness that it served to comfort the worthy poet, who after the death on December 9th, 1502 of his illustrious patron, in whose cause he fought, feels that, thanks to the painter's art, his friend lives still on canvas :

Victor mio chiaro di tal nome degno
che dato ti ha virtute : et la natura
judicio ver del tuo sublime ingegno
imitator d'humana figura,

[1] *Cod. Estense* VIII., D. 6, n. 384 (*Rime dello Strazzòla*). Master Rado here mentioned was an obscure painter of "*cassoni*" alluded to in documents preserved in the Archives.

Two faces saw I painted by your hand
That methought were done by a dauber's fist,
And either one of native swine
Seemed a platter-like ignoble snout ;
So that I know not any silly clown
That could not make a better pudding,
And whoever saw them would have reckoned
That daubed they are by the hand of Mastro Rado.

[2] Colasanti, *Due strambotti inediti per Antonio Vinciguerra e un ignoto ritratto di Vettor Carpaccio* (*Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, von Thode und Tschudi*, xxvi. Band. Berlin, Reimer, 1903, p. 198). Colasanti's article was published in the *Fanfulla della Domenica*, Rome, July 14th, 1901.

[3] . . . "censure that most excellent Cronico,
Venerated among the learned as a god."

ben poi vantarti haver trovato il segno
che tanti chiari ingegni in non procura
fra gli altri il mostra quel buon Vinciguerra
che per te vivo è anchor sopra la terra
che per te habiamo anchor vivo qui in terra.[1]

These independent records show in how great consideration Carpaccio was held even in his own day; and beyond this a careful study of his works themselves leads us to conclude that his art owes nothing to the painters contemporary with him and that he really did proceed along a path entirely his own.

Carpaccio painted in oils according to the new method imparted by Flemish artists to Antonello da Messina, by whom it was introduced into Venice. It was immediately adopted by Bellini and Vivarini, who brought the art to perfection with a system of thin varnishes. This latter use of varnishes was not much employed by Carpaccio, who in technique clings rather to the older methods and treated his colours after the fashion of *tempera*; in this respect marking no advance in Venetian Art. But the colour which in nature may sometimes appear garish and strident with deft juxtaposition of tone and without too much touching up he unites in so soft a harmony and in such a manner that we are fain to admire, not only the painter's craft but the intuition of the artist who does justice to the point of the situation and the individualities of manner and customs, and who makes colour one of the *media* through which his own feelings find expression.

Nor can he be said with truth to be an innovator in draughtsmanship, inasmuch as he is at times somewhat stiff and antiquated, especially in his treatment of draperies. Contemptuous of innovation he tries to remain faithful to rather minute detail, submitting in scrupulous obedience to the dictates of his conscience, never disturbing the serenity of his compositions with artificial conceits nor having recourse to any technical trick. There are certain artists possessed of great imaginative powers who, before handling either brush or pencil, actually see their paintings in complete detail in their mind's eye; others draw more upon their memory than upon the exuberance of their natural abilities and turning the subject over and over in their minds strive hard to overcome the obstacles set between them and their goal. This, in our opinion,

[1] Id., *loc. cit.*

My honoured Victor, worthy of the name
that merit gave thee: and Nature's self,
true prophet of thy sublime genius,
imitator of the human form,
thou may'st well boast of having hit the mark
that many famous minds have not attained:
amongst others thou showest the worthy Vinciguerra,
who e'en through thee yet standeth on the earth,
who e'en through thee we have yet in our midst.

is the case with regard to Carpaccio, who, as we learn from his drawings and as we shall understand further on, committed to paper almost with trembling hands the first idea for his picture and then carefully studied the single figures from live models, making his sketches upon beautiful green Venetian paper, indicating the shadows with strokes of his brush and touching up the lights with chalk. Having thus planned out the general lines and details of a picture, he copied it on to canvas and with a careful colour scheme imparted to the entire composition that force which seeks its effect not in vivid and violent contrast but in harmony of tone and serenity of expression. He sought no flights of fancy, neither excessive joy nor passionate grief, but tranquil happiness and silent suffering, which inspire the spectator with a sense of intimate repose such as no other art has been able to inspire. In certain master minds, such as Raphael for instance, the figures appear to be too far removed from real life; and conversely all the poetry in the soul of the Venetian painters who succeeded Carpaccio tended towards a too-sensual realism. Carpaccio instead held the balance between both extremes and was the type of the Quattrocentist painter; not frozen by the narrow ideals of mediævalism, nor yet melted by the over-warm sweetnesses of the Renaissance. The story of Vettor Carpaccio's artistic life is told us by his works. Of these the oldest is a painting in the S. Ursula Cycle which bears the date 1490: the latest is *S. Paul* in S. Domenico at Chioggia, upon which is inscribed the year 1520. That the first painting, completed when he was about thirty-five years of age, may have been preceded by others seems to us very probable: more especially since the Scuola di S. Orsola would not have confided a work of such importance to a beginner. As a matter of fact we believe that the painting of 1490 was most likely preceded by the *Virgin* of the Städel Institute at Frankfort and by the *Two Saints* in the Museum at Verona: works till now attributed to Bissolo, but which we should without hesitation assign to Carpaccio; as much on account of the expression of the countenances, the colour, the drawing and the attitudes, as for certain characteristics peculiar to the School of Bastiani. Indeed careful examination of both paintings at once shows a surprising analogy between the *Virgin* of the Städel Institute and the picture by Bastiani in the Galleria Lochis at Bergamo.

The artist's genius was at its zenith in the first decade of the fifteenth century. The Government, the nobility, the *Scuole*, all vied with one another in giving commissions to the celebrated painter. To this period belong the altarpiece in S. Pietro at Murano, ordered by the wealthy glass-blowers, the Licini (1507); and that masterwork, the altarpiece of S. Giobbe, painted for the

patrician family of Sanudo (1510). The picture in the church of S. Vitale (1514) must likewise have been commissioned by some nobleman.

In the meantime a new-fashioned Art had come into being with Giorgione and Titian: and to Carpaccio perhaps that bold and novel manner seemed a kind of pictorial libertinage. The words that burst from the austere soul of Albrecht Dürer when in February 1507 he saw Venice for a second time echoed a sort of melancholy presage. "The things that pleased me so much fifteen years since, now please me no more," exclaimed the famous German, referring perhaps to the New Art, superb already in sensual pride.[1] A few years more and the Venetians, face to face with female beauty blossoming in fleshly brilliance, will forget the "*awkward painters*" of a preceding age, and "*the cold and lifeless work of Giovanni Bellini, of Gentile and of Vivarini which were without movement and without relief.*"[2]

The sun of Giorgione and of Titian had already caused Carpaccio's art to pale, despite the fame he had enjoyed and his prowess in decorating the dwelling of the Doges. Impervious to new ways and new methods, unlike Giambellino, he drew no strength from the new-fashioned canons of Art. Thus we observe that, although up to 1520 he continued, in spite of many interruptions, the work undertaken in the Scuole, he received no further commissions of capital importance in his native city—if we except the altarpiece, now lost, representing the *Nativity of Christ*, executed in 1523 for the Patriarch, Antonio Contarini. In the latter period of his life the painter worked for Treviso, Capo d' Istria, Pozzale, Chioggia, cities and townships which knew not yet nor understood the bolder and broader methods of Giorgione and Titian, to whom a ready welcome had with great fortune and favour been extended by the Ruling State. The contradiction between the time-honoured fifteenth-century traditions and the new and more grandiose style now triumphant is especially marked in Carpaccio's latest manner, which not infrequently displays weariness in effort and an increasing hesitancy in overstepping the bounds of faithful reproduction. His colouring, too, is less brilliant, his drawing less correct, his drapery less beautifully disposed. Altogether it is plain that the hand no longer obeys the mind's behests.

In the sixteenth century the name of Carpaccio seems wrapped in oblivion. His works no longer grace the halls of the principal patrician palaces, since in the *Notice of the Works of Art* (*Notizia d' opere di disegno*) existing in Venice, Padua, Cremona, Pavia, Bergamo and Crema, among the very numerous names of crafts-

[1] Thausing, *Dürer*, V. Leipzig, 1876.
[2] Dolce, *L' Aretino, o Dialogo della pittura*. Firenze, MDCCXXXV.

men, Italian and foreign, we may search in vain for that of Vettor Carpaccio.

But amid the faults and extravagances of the seventeenth century when Art became ever more wanting in feeling and ideals, charming by a certain conventional splendour alone—a splendour which pervaded also the life of the period—there were yet some to appreciate the simple grandeur of Carpaccio. Marco Boschini, the painter-poet, who, despite his turgid grandiloquence, shows some shrewd judgment, writes of Carpaccio thus:—

E quel Vettor Carpaccio sì eccellente
Quasi anca lu fradel del Zambelin,
Che ha depento con stil si pelegrin,
Che deferenzia che xe puoco o niente.

Si Zambelin ha fato ben figure
Con vago e diligente colorito;
El Carpaccio se sta cussì esquisito
Che a tu per tu puol star le so piture.

Tanto che posso dir ben (co'se dise)
Do servizi, e un vïazo fazo presto,
Quel che ho dito de quel digo de questo:
I è sta do rami, e sola una raise.[1]

In the eighteenth century, amid the prettinesses and the airs and graces of Longhi, Rosalba and Carriera, surrounded by the stupendous scene-painting of Tiepolo, Anton Maria Zanetti appreciates better than any one else the painter of S. Ursula in these beautiful words:—

One of the greatest merits, moreover, of these works, I think, consists in their effects, and especially in those that they make on the senses and hearts of those people who are furthest off from understanding the Arts. I sometimes stand in this chapel (of S. Ursula) unobserved, and I see enter certain devout folk, who after a short prayer,—often indeed during the prayer itself,—turning their eyes to these paintings stand with countenances and minds arrested—exactly as the poet sings.[2] They show that they readily understand each scene, reason it out in their hearts and cannot conceal the internal emotion that they feel. Great power has counterfeited reality, and even without the aid of Art painted it with one single object upon the

[1] *La carta del Navegar pitoresco*, p. 33. Venetia, MDCLX.

And that Vettor Carpaccio so excellent,
As though the brother to Zambelin,
Who hath painted with so fanciful a style
That difference there is little or naught.

If Zambelin well figures drew
With fair and careful colouring,
Carpaccio is so exquisite
That side by side his pictures eke may be.

This much can I truly aver (as 'tis said),
I my services give and make a journey soon.
What I have said of me, I of the others say:
There are a pair of sculls, but a single skiff.

[2] Horace, in the line "*Suspendit picta vultum mentemque tabella.*" Epistles, Book II. i, line 97.

senses of every spectator. A great example for every one who studies to make pictures that have merits, understood not only by artist minds, but which are able to take hold of every soul, however alien and ignorant. To this chiefest aim of holding to the paths of truth, it must be truthfully admitted the aims of the clever modern painters do not always turn; and Painting on this head has certainly need of being led back to first principles. I do not pretend that they should nowadays paint like Carpaccio; but that like him they should endeavour vividly to reproduce on their canvases as much of the simple truth as Carpaccio did; and picturesque licence should give force and light, and not hinder or destroy this essential and primary part.

In more recent days we were even more unjust towards Carpaccio, and but a few years since he was considered timid and lifeless, in the same way that Tiepolo was judged inflated and out of drawing. Criticism yawned before the paintings of the former and laughed in the face of the frescoes of the latter;—that criticism which is almost always guided by preconceived ideas and deals out its judgments accordingly, or according to the amount of taste that it acquires from them. Luigi Carrer in his *Elogio di Carpaccio* and, with maturer judgment, Pietro Selvatico,[1] felt irresistibly drawn to this noble craftsman, but in their consideration of his inner life they failed to free themselves from the conventional ideas that still prevailed a little more than half a century ago.

"Now," justly remarks that acute critic, Camillo Boito, "we are more impartial and of broader mind: we embrace with one and the same affection the painters of the fifteenth and of the eighteenth centuries; the ingenuous and the corrupt, the minute and the impetuous, the straight line and the curved." To-day the greatness of the master is fully understood, standing halfway between the two glorious centuries of the Venetian Renaissance, and we moderns study with devout attention this most attractive and tender painter, the faithful reflex of his time and country, from both of which he obtained the characteristics peculiar to his Art.

But outside and beyond the factors of time and place Carpaccio's Art was governed by certain peculiar circumstances, concerning which it behoves us to add a word in conclusion to complete as far as may be the portrait of our artist.

Art-patronage attained in Venice wider if not more intense proportions than elsewhere; and if in other cities this prerogative was exercised by free Republics or by Popes or Princes, here a number of concurrent elements tended towards the selfsame end. The government of a strong oligarchy, powerful in wealth, vied in the protection accorded to artists with a middle class, equally wealthy and prosperous, who found the means to satisfy their artistic needs in the foundation and encouragement of their Con-

[1] Selvatico, *St. art. crit. delle arti del dis.*, ii. 575. Venezia, 1856.

fraternities. These Guilds played a very noteworthy part in the history of Venetian Art, to which they gave a mighty and effectual impulse that deserves to be carefully considered.

The Venetians from the most ancient times clung to the Roman tradition which associated artizans into special Confraternities and Guilds according to their various trades. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these associations or *Scuole*, each of which had a Saintly Patron, were governed according to their own Statutes, called *mariegole* from the Latin *matricula*. The *Scuole Grandi* were five only: those of S. Teodoro, S. Maria della Carità, S. Giovanni Evangelista, S. Marco and S. Rocco. The lesser *Scuole* were very numerous and were of three descriptions. First, the natives of particular countries, like the Albanians, the Sclavonians, etc., who banded themselves into an association for their common interests and took for their Patron the Saintly Protector of their native land. Secondly, the members of the same art or trade, who chose as Patron a Saint who had exercised the identical trade; such as S. Anniano for the shoemakers, SS. Cosmas and Damian for the surgeons and barbers, etc. Thirdly, the Scuole of *Devotion*, who took their appellation from some Saint selected in fulfilment of a vow, like that of S. Rocco which was founded during a plague. Having thus propitiated Heaven and the Saints these associations claimed the protection of the State, which saw with satisfaction in these institutions of religious and economic tendency an outlet for those popular energies that might otherwise have threatened the unbending rule of the nobles. The patricians gladly supported these guilds, and to mention only those to whom Carpaccio gave his work we may observe that the Scuola di S. Orsola numbered the Loredan family among its protectors; that the church of S. Maurizio, where the Albanians first met together, honoured the Sanudo as its founders—a family whose descendants ordered from Carpaccio the altarpiece at S. Giobbe; and lastly that the Scuola dei Lanieri (*woolstaplers*) di S. Stefano, by whom our artist was also employed, enjoyed the patronage and favour of the da Lezze. The connexion of these Guilds with one another forms a network of material and moral ties—unwritten compacts and common aims and interests—through which we may trace the course of Carpaccio's artistic progress. It was his good fortune to start upon his career in the Scuola di S. Orsola, where by Pontifical privilege Greek priests were permitted to say Mass, and where also the Albanians had their burial-place. The friendships which he, whilst working there, must have contracted with men of those regions then resident in Venice opened the door for other commissions upon the part of the Albanians and Dalmatians, who desired

likewise to adorn their "Halls" with paintings by the artist of S. Orsola whom they thus knew and admired. These energetic and intelligent folk wished their buildings glorified by illustrious painters so as to be everlasting testimony not only of their faith but also of their wealth and prosperity. And standing amid scenes from the Gospels and from the Legends of the Saints we still see like a sweet blossom the vigorous offshoot of Venice and the energies of her people in the figures of those workmen and artizans, who aspired to be portrayed in these paintings for their Scuole joined together in prayer with the Virgin and the Blessed Ones from Heaven.

The members of the various Guilds met on fixed occasions to deliberate. Each Scuola elected a president or *Gastaldo*, a *Scrivano* or secretary, several councillors or *Compagni*, a treasurer, an auditor, two syndics and one or two assessors to levy the subscriptions. Each Scuola had its own standard and joined in procession at religious and civil festivities. For the Feast of S Mark, Patron of the City, they all met at the Basilica in the presence of the Doge and vied with each other in the possession of precious relics and sumptuous banners.

To give an idea of the wealth of the Scuole it will suffice to record that the Scuola of the Master-Masons commenced in 1439 to rebuild the hospital adjoining S. Giovanni Evangelista and completed it with surpassing magnificence in 1481 ; and that later on arose the "Scuola" of *S. Marco*, the masterpiece of Pietro Lombardo, Giovanni Buora and Moro da Bergamo ; the "Scuole" of *S. Rocco*, due to Bartolommeo Bon and Antonio Scarpagnino ; of *la Misericordia*, built by Sansovino ; and of *S. Girolamo*, built by Vittoria.

The close tie which binds these institutions to the Fine Arts deserves to be noted, because many of the sentiments and intentions of the men, who, united in these Confraternities, rendered such signal service to their country, are made known to the world outside through the work of the craftsmen employed by them. Thus it is that Carpaccio may be styled the historian of this most important branch of the life of Venice. His pictures were not completed for the mere adornment of churches, oratories, halls or chambers : they constitute complete Cycles of Art, like chapters of a tale, in which we may read the domestic history of the period, and that no less glorious story of the Trades-Guilds whose inner constitution and activity should be particularly studied as an aid to understanding the evolution of Carpaccio's genius and multiform activity.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF THE SCUOLA DI SANT' ORSOLA.

BEFORE describing the various pictorial Cycles composed by Carpaccio the history of the Institution which gave the craftsman so favourable an opportunity for the development of the force of his genius should be briefly discussed. The Scuola di Sant' Orsola, containing that magnificent series of paintings which marks the first period of the artistic life of this king of painters, will therefore first occupy our attention.

In 1234 the Doge Jacopo Tiepolo presented the Dominican Order with a piece of marshland within the boundaries of S. Maria Formosa and S. Marina (*in confinibus Sancte Mariæ Formosæ et Sancte Marinæ*) thereon to erect a convent and a church. The church designed in the Gothic style, commenced about 1240, and dedicated to SS. Giovanni and Paolo, arose beside the convent, and at the beginning of the following century the Scuola di S. Orsola was built upon the same site. Some devout persons, accustomed perhaps to meet together in the sacristy of the new church, resolved to place themselves under the protection of this Saint and her martyred companions. Be this as it may, an authentic document gives the precise date of the Foundation: viz., "the 15th day of July, 1300: in the time of the illustrious Messer Pietro Gradenigo, renowned Doge of Venice, was made and commenced this blessed Congregation to the glory and honour" (*15 luglio del 1300: In lo tempo dello egregio messer Piero Gradenigo inclito doxe de Vinexia, fo fata e començada questa benedeta congregation a loldo et honor*) "of Our Lord and of the Virgin, and under the protection of SS. Dominick, Peter Martyr and Ursula."[1]

The chapel dedicated to these three Saints was built seven years after the Scuola in the graveyard of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, adjacent to the church, beside the large window afterwards filled

[1] *Arch. di Stato. Scuola di Sant' Orsola a SS. Giovanni e Paolo.* Atti Diversi, B. 599.

with glass painted by Mocetto. Over the door ran an inscription of which ancient records have preserved the preamble:

✠ S SCOLE BEATE URSULE ET || XI. M. VIRGINU. FACTA ANNO DNI || M CIII CVI
MESE MARCI TPV GA || STALDIONIS MARIN°. TIRALAGO || ET SOCIO ꝓ EI SACHETI
DE || MANGANO MARCI BATIORO || ZANE DE LA DONA. MARCI BOGATINO.

These are the earliest vestiges of the School.

Another and a very important document dated in the year of the completion of the building is the Will of one Zuane Pollini, who in April 1318 bequeathed to the Scuole di S. Orsola and di S. Maria della Misericordia dei Mercanti[1]; a palace in the Piazza di S. Bartolomeo, which bears to this day the arms of the Scuola di S. Orsola: secondly some houses in the *Ruga Giuffa* near S. Maria Formosa, on which may also still be seen the arms of the two Scuole[2]; and thirdly a small almshouse near the Arsenal, in existence up to the last years of the Republic, and even within the earlier days of the Austrian Government,[3] although—notwithstanding its long-protracted life—the exact site of this foundation is not now known.

Other records of the Scuola di S. Orsola, notably a copy of the *Mariegola* or Statute of 1300, and a book of minutes kept during the first half of the sixteenth century,[4] give an insight into the inner life of this Guild, which, like many others, represented one of the most characteristic aspects of the Life and Art of Venice.

The object of the "*Scuola of Devotion* of S. Ursula," which included among its members nobles and burgesses, men and women alike, is defined by the simple words of the ancient *Mariegola*. Since Holy Writ teaches that it is "a good and pleasant thing to dwell together and to be humble in the Love of God" (*bona et aliegra cosa habitar insiembre et esser umili in lo amor de Dio*) the Scuola meets and enacts Statutes and Rules to establish its Will "to abide in the Love of God and of His Holy Peace, to the glory and praise of the Omnipotent God and of the Blessed Mother, Ever-Virgin, Madonna S. Mary, and of the Blessed Messer S. Peter, martyr, and especially of Madonna S. Ursula, virgin, and all her

[1] The place of meeting of this Scuola was originally near the church of the Frari; but in the fifteenth century it was affiliated to another confraternity of merchants, and thus formed the Scuola di S. Cristoforo.

[2] The Franciscan emblem indicates the Scuola di S. Maria della Misericordia dei Mercanti, which honoured S. Francis as its Patron Saint.

[3] One of the last inmates of this almshouse was a curious personage, Andrea Chiribiri, who after having commanded the *Bucentaur*, denied his by no means inglorious past, joined the party of the demagogues and subsequently ended his days in poverty.

[4] *Arch. di Stato. Scuola di Sant' Orsola a SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, B.O. I., n. 30, fasc. i. The original *Mariegola* is no longer in existence, but we know some of its contents from a copy among the records belonging to the Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

Blessed company, virgins and glorious martyrs and all others His Saints" (*stare in lo amor de Dio e de santa paxe a gloria et laude de lo onipotente Dio e de la biada mare sempre verzene Madona Santa Maria e de lo biado Misser San Piero martore e specialmente de Madona Santa Orsola verzene e tutta la soa compagnia biade verzene e martore glorioxe e de tuti li altri sui Santi*).

We have said that in all the Scuole the Board of Governors, styled the *Banco*, consisted of a *Gastaldo*, a *Vicario*, and a Secretary, together known by the generic name of "benchers" (*bancali*). The Bench so-called, at which the three Governors of the Scuola took up their position, was a characteristic piece of furniture, very wide and high, placed near the door of the chapel or meeting-hall, and provided with pigeon-holes to contain the registers and papers of the Scuola.[1] A delicately carved wooden back rose behind the seat, and in front stood four lanterns on stone bases. On holidays the *Mariegola* of the Scuola, bound in red velvet with bosses of silver-gilt adorned with miniatures, was laid upon the bench. The old *Mariegola* of S. Ursula was superseded on November 16th, 1488 by another of more handsome appearance, which contained fresh regulations. The transcription of the older chapters was followed by the new part, opening with a beautifully illuminated initial letter representing their martyred Patroness.

Upon the bench stood the image of S. Ursula in painted wood, attired in a mantle of crimson silk, with a silver gilt crown on her head, the palm of martyrdom in her hand and a necklace of pearl beads round her neck.

Upon festive occasions, processions, etc., and at funerals, the members of the Confraternity walked, carrying candles, or certain huge candelabra, then called *doppieri*, but nowadays *aste* (poles). This characteristic species of candlestick, which we see in the paintings of Carpaccio and Gentile Bellini, preserves its appearance to this day. An ordinary staff formed the handle, which terminated in a species of carved and gilt candelabrum surmounted with a capital, from whence sprung a good-sized bunch of flowers or fruit with the candle in the midst. Three streamers painted or embroidered with the arms of the Confraternity adorned each candlestick. Lanterns of gilded bronze containing a small lamp were also fastened on to the top of the poles. The *pennello* or standard could be of two kinds: either painted on silk, or in the form of a wooden bas-relief representing some sacred subject raised aloft upon a staff. A branch of the Confraternity of Painters was employed exclusively in decorating these standards, and we have seen

[1] One of these ancient benches can still be seen in Venice in the church of the Frari. It belonged at one time to the Scuola di Sant' Antonio.

how, among others, Marco Bastiani, Lazzaro's brother, painted little else.

The members of the Scuola wore a long linen gown or cloak with a hood, which generally hung down over their shoulders but which served to cover the head on occasions of mourning. The smallest detail of their attire was thought out with artistic precision. The knotted tassels of their girdles were often triumphs of delicate design, betokening the skill and fanciful deftness of Venetian lace-makers (*passamanteria*). The colour of the cloak differed according to the Scuola: it might be red, white, black, etc. That of S. Ursula was white.

The majestic advance of a procession in religious or civic solemnities offered a spectacle worthy of the great Venetian painters. But it was a quaint sight, amid the glitter of gold and play of colour, to notice running along the ranks a singular personage whose business it was to collect the guttering wax from the candles, and put it into a bag carried round his neck. In Carpaccio's painting of *The Healing of One Possessed*, preserved in the Venice Academy, we may see this brother—the *cerone*—with his little bag adorned with the arms of the *Scuola*.

The articles of the *Mariegola* tend above all else to surround devotion with a thousand minute, quaint and delightfully naïve regulations. They direct, first of all, that, when an extract from the *Mariegola* is recited, salutations first be addressed "to our Lady and Mother Madonna Saint Mary reverently saying: Hail Mary!" (*nostra dona e mare Madona Santa Maria con Reverentia dicendo: Ave Maria*). A small altar lamp or thurible (*cesendelo*) shall burn unceasingly before the chapel of S. Ursula, "to her most holy honour" (*a lo so honor santissimo*). The chapel owned a quantity of valuable plate and handsome vestments, among which the most worthy of note was a cope of crimson velvet with the story of S. Ursula embroidered in gold and silk.

The *Mariegola* contains also the agreement entered into by the Brethren of the Scuola with the monks of the convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The former bind themselves to supply to the convent twice a year a certain quantity of food-stuffs; a tribute for which later on a money tax was substituted. The friars in return undertook to celebrate a *Missa Cantata* in the chapel of S. Ursula, on the second Sunday of every month, and a low mass every Monday, for the souls of the departed Brethren. The Brethren were bound to confess once a year at least, and those who failed in this duty were severely recalled to their duty by the *Gastaldo*, or even expelled from the Scuola.

From the accounts for the year 1516 we learn other particulars of the inner life of the Brotherhood; notably concerning the

preparations made for the *Festa* of their Patron Saint (October 21st),[1] and among the varied items of expenditure several deserve special mention. Under the date of October 21st, 1516 the ledger states: "For the said illuminations to Master Michiel d' Arezzo, engraver of Saints, for large S. Ursulas of three sorts to the number of 200 and for smaller ones to the number of 400, given to him, for the large 40 soldi a hundred, for the small 20 soldi a hundred" (*Per le luminarie ditte a mistro Michiel d'Arezo, intagiador de li santi, per sante Orsole grande di tre sorte lo numero 200 et de picole de 4 sorte lo numero 400 da. . . . con lui le grande a soldi 40 al cento le picole a soldi 20 al cento*). These agreements with the above-mentioned "Master Michiel" and with a certain *Ser Domenigo de Sandro stampador de santi* for the expenses of printing recur periodically. An article in the *Mariegola* directs that on the day of S. Ursula, as in all other Confraternities, the Illumination and Bread-tax (*Luminaria e Pane*) should be discharged. This rate, which was paid at stated intervals, constituted the principal revenue of the Scuola, together with the voluntary offerings dropped into alms-boxes for the purpose. To those brethren who paid the *Luminaria*-tax the *Gastaldo* was wont to offer, as a symbolical gift, a taper painted in miniature, a loaf of bread and a picture of S. Ursula. Prior to the invention of printing these pictures, which were presented to the brethren to kiss, were illuminated on parchment by certain craftsmen called *miniasanti*. They were afterwards superseded by woodcuts, executed in the first years of the sixteenth century by Michele d' Arezzo and printed by Domenico di Sandro.[2]

[1] On October 20th Master *Stefano de Vecchi depentor* was paid for having painted the nave of the chapel and having prepared the garlands and "everything else belonging to his department" (*et ogni altra chossa pertinente a lui*). On October 28th the accounts are settled with the trumpeters and pipers who went in boats to play at the Rialto and at S. Mark's on the Eve of the Feast. On November 6th the same De Vecchi is paid for work done in the nave, when he repaired the hooks (*gonzoli*) and garlands for the Feast of the Saint. At this same *Festa* Master Vincenzo, chorister at SS. Giovanni e Paolo (*Misser Vincenzo, chantator de la chapella de San Zuanne Pollo*), sang two vespers and a mass, and is paid on October 25th. In December *Ser Andrea Visentino organista* is paid for his services throughout the year. On August 20th, 1517 six ducats are assigned to *Mistro Alessandro depentor* for painting the vault over the high altar, for stuccoing the cracks and for making a frieze to imitate mosaic and dividing pillars of imitation marble and porphyry. All these works were for the new chapel of the high altar, built in 1504. On August 10th, 1522 *Ser Domenego Tegna, indorador* (gilder) was paid for gilding a frame placed before the *Christ* in the Hall of the Scuola. On December 14th, 1522 *Messer fra Zanetto Fior* for the purchase of a "corporal for the altar" (*d'un corporal per el altar*): on January 28th, 1528, *Ser Nadalin de Marcho, depentor*, for painting the candles: whilst other sums were paid to the glassmaker and to the goldsmith, who restored the tabernacle, wherein was preserved one of S. Ursula's teeth, etc.

[2] This curious custom has up till now not been sufficiently noticed. In the Greek church the custom of kissing images of Saints was very ancient and much practised. Now the Greek church had great influence upon the Patriarchal Use of Venice. When the Doge entered the Basilica of S. Mark he was offered a *pax* to kiss, and a special Rule of Ceremony directed what persons should be permitted to join in this kiss. In S. Mark's may still be seen, beneath the Virgin known as the Mother of Consolation (*Mater Consolationis*), an alms-box, adorned

Devotion to S. Ursula was as it were a monopoly of the Scuola. No other Confraternity had the right to demand offerings in the name of this Saint, nor to set up in their churches any alms-box with her image. Any person infringing this privilege would doubtless have been liable to an action at law.[1]

Besides the Scuola alms-boxes, attached to the *Gastaldo's* bench, portable collecting boxes were carried round the church by the sacristans, as is done to this day. The Scuole of Arts and Crafts also made house-to-house collections; but those of Devotion confined themselves to begging alms during Mass. The faithful who made an offering received in return from the sacristan a picture of the Saint, kissed it and placed it in their prayer-books. Others contented themselves with kissing the *pax* affixed to the alms-box. These devout customs have not altogether disappeared: we may observe them yet in the Basilica of S. Mark, where the cult of the *Madonna Nicopeia* attracts numberless devotees.[2]

In the Mariegola of S. Ursula, besides the record of these pictures, distributed along with wax tapers and bread on the Saint's Feast Day, we find that on every first Sunday in the month each brother was obliged to "take out his tally" (*levar la so tolela*). This *tolela* or tally was a small oblong piece of wood or a bronze tablet, issued on the payment of a tax,

with an ancient miniature in Byzantine style which represents the Virgin and Child and bears the Greek inscription: Ἡ ΕΛΕΟΥΣΑ (*the Pitiful*). Devout Venetians, according to time-honoured custom, deposit their alms in the box, and not being able to kiss the image, since it is placed too high up, kiss two fingers of their own hands and touch it with them. Another form of *pax* for kissing is affixed over the alms-chest of the old Scuola di S. Antonio in the church of the Frari. The image of the Saint under glass is suspended by a short chain to allow the faithful to kiss it. The "large S. Ursulas" ordered, for which payment was made to the engraver, Michele d' Arezzo, doubtless served as *paces* for the alms-boxes of the Scuola: the small ones as gifts in return for taxes paid or minor offerings.

[1] Besides the boxes intended for the cult of the titular Saint, there were others in various churches for the worship of the most Blessed Sacrament. These bore as a mark of distinction a *Pietà*, painted and framed in a little niche. Examples of these are a *Dead Christ* carved on an alms-box affixed to a pilaster in the church of the Frari, and an *Ecce Homo* cast in bronze by Alessandro Leopardi over the alms-box of the Blessed Sacrament in the church of S. Mark. All these alms-boxes bear also *paces* of silver in relief with the symbol of the Sacrament. Among the examples of Venetian line-engraving representations of the *Dead Christ* and of the *Entombment* are frequently to be found. These images, framed and glazed, served probably to stimulate the devotion and generosity of the faithful in the poorer churches in the same way as the stone sculpture at the Frari and Leopardi's bronze at S. Mark's.

[2] If we consider the vast number of churches and Scuole that at one time existed in Venice we can understand how enormous must have been the production and sale of such pictures. A few examples still remain; precious "incunabula" pasted into the covers of some old book. We know also the Will of one Antonio Zacuol of Bergamo, a sixteenth-century engraver, who bequeathed his dies to his children that they might continue to print from them. This trade was in fact hereditary and Antonio's father, Alessandro, was also an engraver. The dies lasted for several generations and were printed again and again for many years without alteration.

which served as a badge of recognition at meetings and for voting purposes.[1]

Mutual benefit was one of the leading purposes of a Scuola. Chapter IV. of the old *Mariegola* ordains that if a member of the Scuola falls sick, the *Gastaldo* or one of the other *bancali* shall visit him. If the patient be poor he shall be relieved from the funds of the Confraternity and by alms collected with that object. The wife of the *Gastaldo* is bound to visit the sick *sisters*. The Brethren take turns to watch over the sick man, and the *Gastaldo* and all the *bancali* must repair to the Prior of the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and beg him to supply good and sufficient friars (*do boni et sufficienti frari*) to visit and comfort the invalid. The departed Brethren had the privilege of burial in the vaults of the Scuola under the external portico. The paintings of Carpaccio in the Scuola degli Schiavoni—*S. Jerome taming the Lion* and *The Funeral of S. Jerome*—afford not only an exact representation of one of these porticoes, but depict also a scene which must have resembled the burial of a brother: the dead man escorted by his companions, bearing candles and the standard of the Scuola. A sum was deducted from the property of the deceased, or—if a poor man—taken from the funds of the Guild, and given to the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo to celebrate masses for the repose of his soul. By the Will of Pollini the Scuola di S. Orsola became possessed of a small alms-house for the sick and aged; and the members also undertook to dower the daughters of poor brethren out of their revenues.

Such in short were the charitable usages of this Scuola, which was administered with the order and discipline of a patriarchal family. Thus, if one of the Brethren were found publicly "in any mortal sin" (*in algun pecado mortal*) his superiors recalled him to his duty three times; and if this admonition proved vain, he was expelled. In the event of a quarrel arising between two

[1] This is confirmed by a document discovered and published recently by Signor Urbani de Gheltof (*Bullettino di Arti, Industrie e Curiosità Veneziane.* Anno. III. p. 31). It is a fragment of the *Matricola* of Venetian painters dated 1350; and the passage of interest to us prescribes how, it being thought "that since the tokens or *tolelle* of the brethren are very easy to imitate in value, from now onwards the brethren shall cause to be stamped copper discs, which shall have on them their distinguishing marks, and each brother shall then have them when they ballot for brethren or on any other regulation of the Mariegola" (*li signali sive tolelle di frari sii multo fazile a contrafarsi sii prexo che da ora in avanti li frari deno farsi stampare monede di rame le quale sarano cum lo suo signo et zascadun frare li hauera alora che si harano a balotar frari o altre regole de mariegola*). To explain the use of these *tolelle* let us recall the decision taken in 1341 by the Scuola di S. Teodoro: "It was ordained with unanimous agreement that our Scuola be regulated by the method of the *tolella*. And each brother wrote his name on a *tolella* with his own private mark" (*fo ordenado cum plaser de tutti che la nostra Scuola sia metuda ad tolelle. E zascadun frare abbia scritto lo suo nome su una tolella cum suo certo segno*). A few of these bronze tallies, which are now very rare, are preserved in the Museo Civico. Later on they were superseded by medals, which served to distinguish the different Confraternities.

Brethren they were to be reconciled within eight days under pain of expulsion. Obscene language was prohibited, and whoever used an indecent expression was punished with a fine. Finally under threat of denunciation to the State, "everything was prohibited that might cause injury or damage or insult to Messer the Doge of Venice, or otherwise to that blessed State, which has been chosen by God the Almighty Father for the protection and support of all the oppressed" (*era proibita alguna cossa la qual fosse inzuria e dano o despresio de Miser lo Doxe de Venezia over de questa benedeta citade la qual sie eleta da Dio pare onipotente per recovramento e sostegnamento di tutti li tribolati*, cap. xii.).

A curious form of ceremonial was also observed at the election of the *bancali*. The day before the election of the *Gastaldo* and the other new officers the Scuola caused a Mass of the Holy Spirit to be sung. The retiring *Gastaldo* and his colleagues attended, taper in hand, and then, preceded by the cross-bearer, they retired into a place apart to await the election of their successors.

But this simple life of prayer was often agitated by disturbances:—we might even say "storms." The Scuola could not manage to live at peace with the adjacent convent. The earliest difference known to us occurred in 1428. The friars claimed that, although the joint agreement granted to the Scuola the use of the chapel of S. Ursula, it yet remained the property of the convent: that in consequence therefore the Confraternity had no right to make structural alterations without their consent: and that the former must confine their attention to the repair of the chapel, without interfering with the tombs within it.

Even the Masses afforded cause of complaint, the friars alleging that they were insufficiently remunerated by the Scuola. To prove their rights over the chapel they brought forward a Bull of Sixtus IV., dated 1474, permitting the Greek nation to celebrate their rites, provided that they paid annual compensation to the convent "under the form of alms."[1]

By the new *Mariegola* of 1488, in the hope of terminating these quarrels, a resolution was passed admitting ten friars to the membership of the Confraternity. The members were to receive the new Brethren kneeling, whilst they took the oath before the altar, and each of these ten friars must celebrate three masses for the souls of the departed Brethren; and in the event of refusal they were to be superseded by other priests. The Scuola on its part agreed to give a loaf of bread and a taper every year on S. Ursula's day to each of the ten friars.

[1] Flaminio Corner. *Ecclesiæ Venetæ*, Decade XV. Venezia, Pasquali, 1749.

In this same year 1488 the members of the Scuola made great efforts to economize in order to add various embellishments to the premises, more especially to provide certain canvases with the "History of Madonna S. Ursula" (*i teleri de la istoria de madona Santa Orsola*[1]); and these "canvases," recorded in the *Mariegola* with such ingenuous simplicity, are precisely those which Carpaccio was to cover with his marvellous paintings. In fact, the first picture was painted but two years later,—that is to say, in 1490; and the date of the last is 1496. It indeed is true that all are not dated, and it is possible that some may have been executed later on; but it is certain that the nine scenes of S. Ursula's life were exhibited to the admiration of the faithful in 1498. They represent respectively:—

1. The Ambassadors of the King of England present themselves before the King of Britain to demand his daughter Ursula in marriage for the son of their King.
2. The English Ambassadors take leave of the King of Britain.
3. The Return of the Ambassadors to England.
4. The Betrothed Pair take leave of their Parents.
5. S. Ursula's Dream.
6. The Bridal Pair meet Pope Cyriacus in Rome.
7. The Arrival at Cologne.
8. The Martyrdom.
9. The Apotheosis of the Saint.

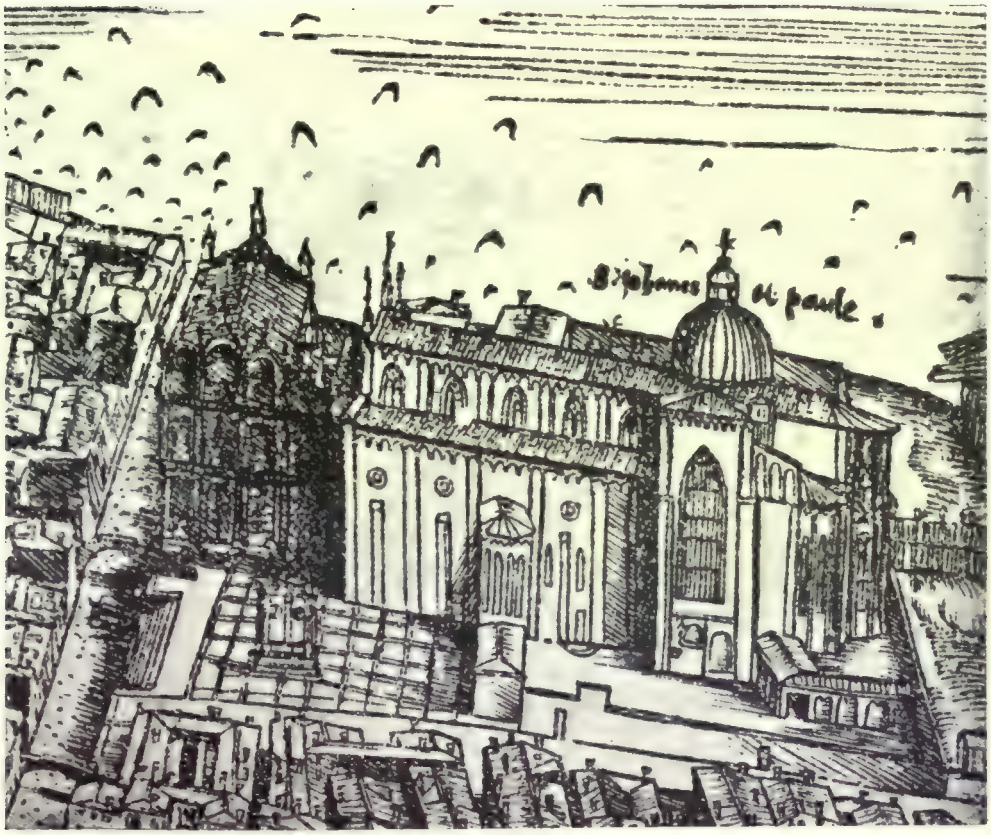
Carpaccio had scarcely finished his work when great strife broke out between the convent and the Scuola.[2]

This quarrel lasted until three years later. In 1501 the friars presented to the Papal Nuncio a lengthy series of complaints against the Scuola. They said that it was only out of good nature that they had conceded to the Brethren of S. Ursula the key of the chapel, so that they could enter more freely: whereas they had not only appropriated it, as though they had been actual owners thereof, but had made many alterations therein, had removed two altars "contrary to all law and agreement" (*contra iura et contra pacta*), had used the vaults to bury deceased Brethren, had changed the keys in order to hinder the access of the lawful owners, and finally had gone so far as to lay hands upon the alms of the faithful. Father Colonna, the author of the *Hypnoteromachia*, demanded therefore from the Nuncio, in the

[1] *Arch. di Stato. Mariegola della Scuola di Sant' Orsola*, pp. 11 seg., Reg. 597.
[2] Ibid. *Man. Mort. SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, B.O. I., n. 115, A.T.

62 Silver Head of S. Ursula.
In the Cathedral of Fiume.

63 Miniature from "The Mariegola" of 1488.



64 The Church of San Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.
Detail from the Plan of Jacopo de Barbaris.

name of the convent, an order that it should not be lawful to hinder in any way the use of the chapel by the friars.[1]

The Nuncio naturally desired to hear the other side also. The *Gastaldo* of S. Ursula denied all that the monks had asserted and showed that the Scuola had done nothing but what had been conceded to them by their Statutes, by their rights and by common usage. The decision of the Nuncio consequently failed to satisfy the monks, who appealed to the Holy See; whereupon the Holy See appointed Andrea Mocenigo, Rector of the parish of San Pantaleone, to settle the question.[2] Mocenigo awarded to the monks the ownership of the chapel, but decided that the Scuola should continue to keep the keys. With these mutual concessions it was hoped that peace might be secured; but in reality the truce lasted but a short time.

In 1509 Angelo Trevisan with fifty galleys had taken Fiume. Before destroying the city he caused to be handed over to him during the sack a silver "head" preserved in that city, which contained the remains of the skull of S. Ursula. Trevisan brought this bust to Venice, and presented it to the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[3]

A strange figure of a soldier, this donor of relics. He bore the nickname of *cancer in the nose* (*cancro al naso*), and whenever he besieged a city nothing but ruin remained. His gift became also a cause of dispute. The convent and the Scuola contended with one another for the possession of the relic, and the question was laid before the magistrates of the Republic. The latter decreed that the head should remain in the possession of the convent, with the obligation to expose it every year at the Feast of S. Ursula on the altar of the Scuola, under the custody of two monks; and that the alms collected on that occasion should be divided between the convent and the Scuola.[4] We may add that the precious relic did not remain long in Venice; because in 1521, through the intervention of the Emperor, the Republic restored it to the City of Fiume, where it is still preserved in the Cathedral.[5]

But notwithstanding these lawsuits and many other hindrances

[1] Among the Italian monks in the convent at that time we notice the names of the painter Marco Pensaben and the celebrated Francesco Colonna, author of that curious Hypnoteromachia di Polifilo, which contributed so much to restore to honour the ancient sense of proportion in Art. Colonna, master of sacred theology (*sacræ theologiæ magister*), was at that time also *procurator* and *syndic* of S. Ursula.

[2] *Arch. di Stato. Scuola di Sant' Orsola a SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, B. 599.

[3] 1510 3. Gennaio: "*Ill. Dominum Caput glori. Virginis Sancte Ursule argento decoratum aurato a zono supra, cum quibusdam folijis circum circa ad modum laboris camuphatj cum corona jn capite de argento in qua corona sunt duo lapides vitrei: azuri coloris et omnia folia corone duobus exceptis fractæ sunt dedit conventus nostro sanctorum Io^is^. et Pauli Procuratione Rev^ndi^. prioris magistris Sixti Veneti . . .*" *Arch. di Stato, M. M. SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, libro rosso, no. 124 A.

[4] *Arch. di Stato.* B.O. I., n°. 188, fasc. 5.

[5] Ibid. B.O. I., n°. 80, A. 3.

the Scuola grew daily in importance. The work of decoration continued, Carpaccio's pictures specially attracting many visitors; and soon an extension of the building was felt to be necessary. On August 4th, 1504[1] the *Banco* therefore decreed the construction of a small chancel to contain the high altar, over which hung Carpaccio's large painting of *The Apotheosis of the Saint*. Thus by suppressing the steps and choir-rails the body of the church gained one-third in floor space.

In 1546 the Brethren closed up the external portico with wooden panels. The monks naturally at once protested, but this time the two parties came to an agreement in a contract, by which the convent consented to the closing of the portico, provided that the Prior kept one of the two keys of the chapel.[2]

We learn from a document dated January 8th, 1552 that the Scuola determined to renew the benches along the wall beneath Carpaccio's canvases. Since "beneath such noteworthy paintings, with such exceedingly beautiful figures, as the evidence of the thing demonstrates, there were broken and worm-eaten benches."[3]

Very striking is this respect and admiration for the work of a great painter, inasmuch as it is desired that the surrounding objects shall also be worthy of their beauty.

The old Inventories of the Scuola, which still exist, tell us that it was enriched by fresh objects of value and sumptuous ornaments. In the earliest of these Inventories, dating back to the first half of the fourteenth century, we notice *inter alia* a great silver-gilt cross, a robe of cloth of gold, a crown of silver-gilt adorned with pearls and precious stones, a girdle of gold, etc.[4] Another Inventory of January 1506 mentions a thurible and an incense-boat of silver, pieces of cloth of gold adorned with embroideries, printed missals, a tabernacle of crystal containing a tooth of S. Ursula, a *pax* of ivory, etc., etc.,[5] and that of June 3rd includes a *Mariegola* bound in velvet with gilt bosses, hangings of golden brocade, etc.

So much treasure could not fail to tempt the cupidity of thieves, who on the night of June 14th, 1572 broke open the door, and carried away "*many goods of different kinds, silver and divers other ornaments and consecrated properties;*" amongst which was a large chalice adorned with the arms of Loredan.[6]

But what grieved the Brethren most was the absence from their altar on Feast-days of the head of S. Ursula, which they had been forced to restore to Fiume. Fortunately a short time afterwards,—

[1] *Arch. di Stato. M.M.* 5, *Scuola di Sant' Orsola*, etc. Processi B. 2ª., nº. 5, busta 601.
[2] Ibid., B. 600.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., *Mariegola della Scuola.*
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., M.M. 5, *Scuola di Sant' Orsola*, etc. Processi B. 2ª Nº. 5, busta 601.

that is in 1592,—the Patriarch of Venice, Lorenzo Priuli, received from Cologne, where according to tradition the 11,000 virgins were buried, the heads of two of these martyrs, which were consigned to the custody of the Guild of S. Ursula. Thus the void was—at least in part—filled up.

In 1637 the Scuola, desiring to rebuild their chapel, and to connect with it a meeting-hall, called the *Albergo*, petitioned the friars for a piece of ground upon which to construct a staircase, in return for which they offered to release the convent from their obligations, whilst continuing to pay the stipulated dues. The site was granted, but the work proceeded very slowly, perhaps through a delay in commencing, or perhaps because of interruptions through lack of funds. The fact remains however that a document of 1646 states that the building was in ruins, and that it was necessary to lose no time in restoration, so that no damage might occur to the precious relics, "*and the pictures of the famous painter*;" a manifest allusion to Carpaccio.

Meanwhile the revenues of the Guild had dwindled to twenty ducats a year only, and they were heavily in debt to their convent-neighbour. Those were the days when Venice, once so wealthy and prosperous, was declining day by day: and the Confraternity of S. Ursula, like so many other institutions, had fallen from its high estate. They were compelled therefore, through stress of want, to ask for relief from the convent, and the monks generously renounced a large portion of their rights. Whilst the builders were making a new roof,—in order that Carpaccio's paintings should not remain exposed to wind and weather,—it was decided to transfer them to a room already repaired, and afterwards, when the work was finished, to replace them in position.

The work of restoration was completed in 1647, and the following inscription was placed over the door as a record:

S.N.B.D.[1] HOC TEMPLUM VENERABILIS || SCOLAE DIVAE URSULAE V.M. || VETUSTATE CONSUMPTUM || COLLABENS PIOR. ELEEMOSINIS || ITERUM FABRICATUM FUIT SUB || DIRECTIONE ET INDUSTRIA || D. || NICOLAI BALANZANI EO TEMPORE || QUO EIUSDEM SCOLAE GUBERNATOR || FUIT ANNO MDCXLVII.

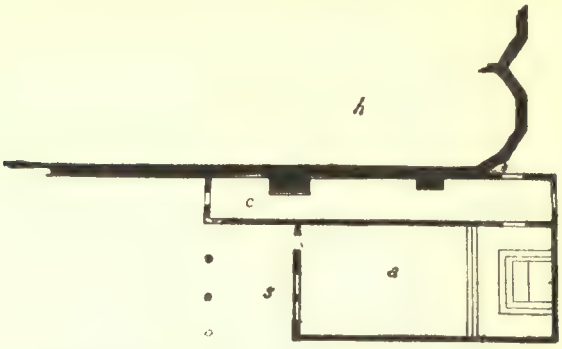
The Scuola had been enlarged and the roof raised by these works. The light poured in through five large windows, designed in the Palladian style. But the inferior architect of the seventeenth century did not hesitate to tamper with the work of the great painter of the fourteenth, and in order to open the new windows he cut away about six inches along the top of every one of Carpaccio's paintings. Martinioni omits to mention this in the third edition of Sansovino's *Venezia*, when he writes that the

[1] *Sit nomen Domini Benedictum.*

Oratory of S. Ursula had been recently improved by lunettes, which made it very much lighter and set off Carpaccio's paintings to far greater advantage.

About a century later the Scuola besought the *Provveditori* for a fresh grant of money towards the restoration of their premises; but restorations were perhaps only a pretext.

In 1752 the paintings were rebacked, varnished, and restored by Prof. Giuseppe Cortese at the expense of a certain M. Ortali.[1] In 1754 another application by the Scuola to the *Provveditori* shows that two doors formerly existing on either side of the altar and afterwards walled up had become even more needed, as much for the preservation of the "ancient and precious" paintings by Carpaccio as for the entrance and exit of the numerous worshippers, who, on solemn Feast-days and in Holy-week thronged the chapel to kiss the relics. The permission to reopen them was granted.[2]



Reconstruction of the Plan of old Scuola (1304).
a. The Chapel; *c.* the passage; *s.* the portico; *h.* the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

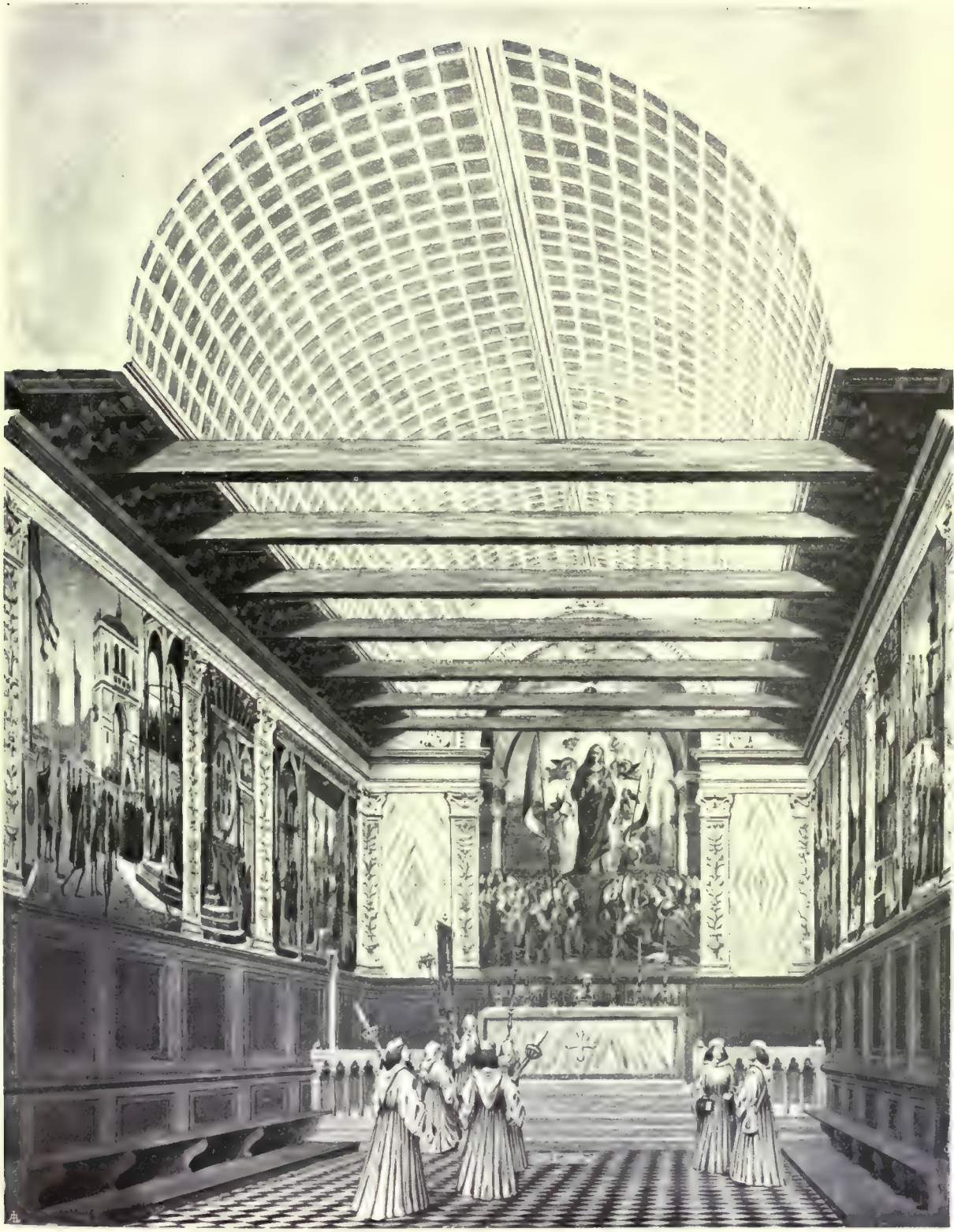
The Scuola from this time dragged on an existence of poverty and struggle. But doubtless from time to time all who still loved Art and Religion, saddened by present misfortunes and the memories of a glorious past, would enter the ancient chapel of S. Ursula to seek a little consolation by gazing rapturously at Carpaccio's pictures, and turning back in memory to days happier for their Art and their country.

Then came the catastrophe. In 1810 a decree of Napoleon suppressed the venerable Scuola.

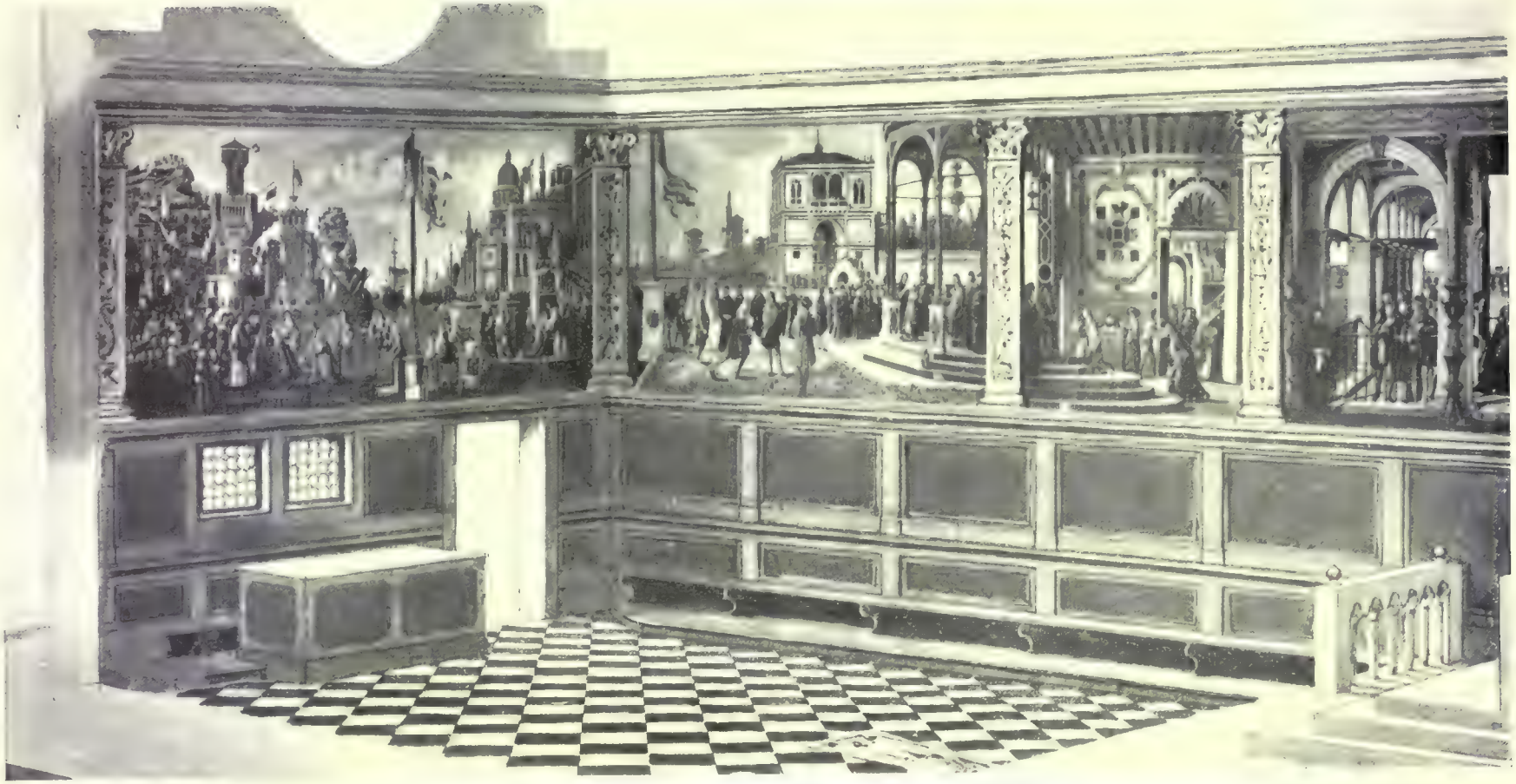
Of the original structure of 1306 no single stone remains; but we may reconstruct the buildings as they stood in Carpaccio's time with the aid of various documents. Jacopo de Barbaris' *Plan of Venice* (1500) is valuable, though incomplete; and another map dated 1750, drawn up by the architect of the Scuola and found among the Deeds, likewise contains indications of places, buildings, etc., which even at that time had ceased to exist.

From the dimensions of Carpaccio's paintings, and from definite information that they were set in two groups of three along both walls, we can infer with certainty that the original Scuola was about forty-six Venetian feet long; and since such in fact is the

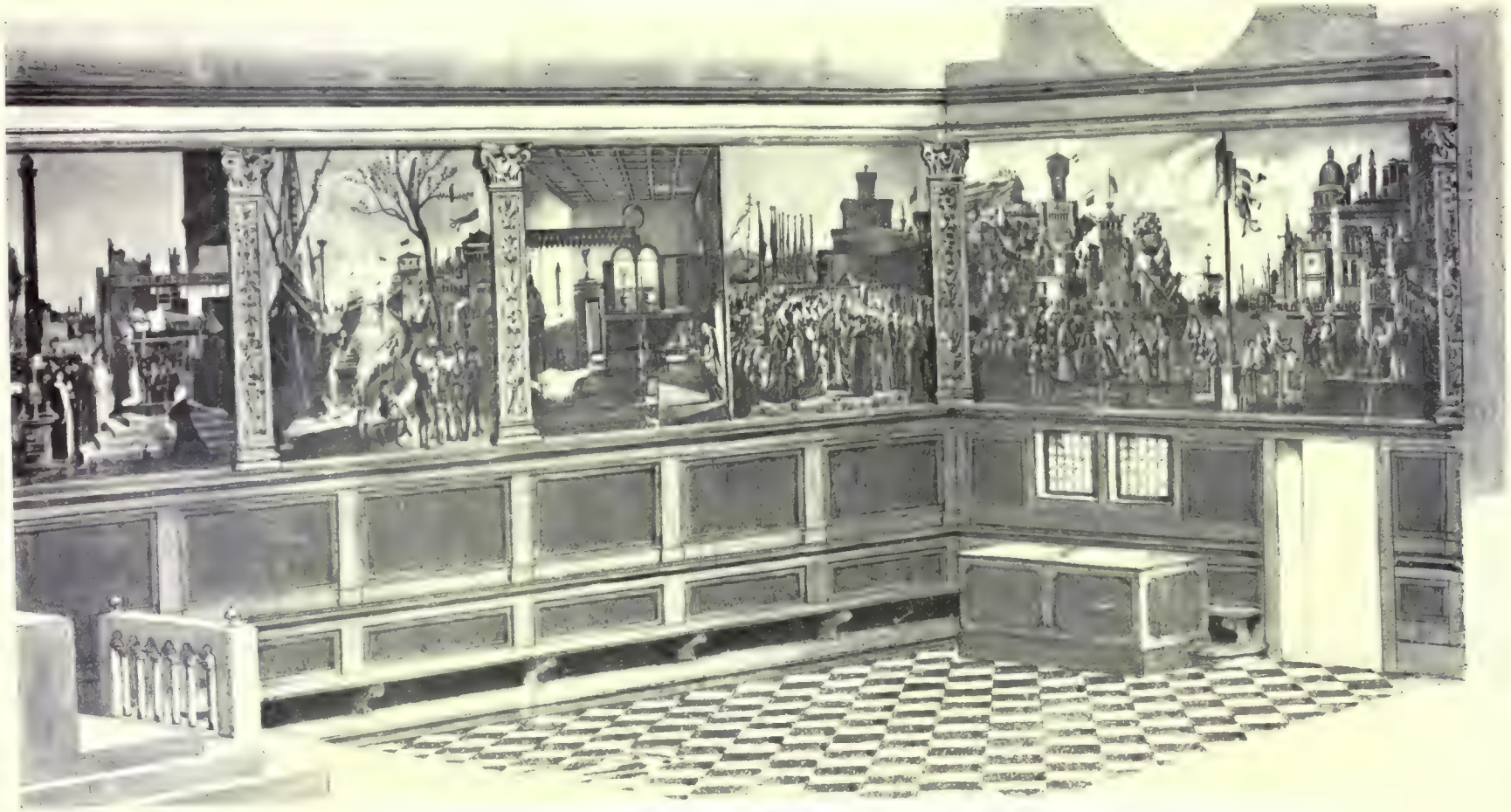
[1] G. A. Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia*, 1815, vol. ii. p. 493.
[2] *Arch. di Stato. Scuola di Sant' Orsola*, B. 599, i. 3.



59 RESTORATION OF THE SCUOLA DI SANT' ORSOLA AS IT MUST HAVE BEEN IN 1500.



Arrangement of the Pictures by Carpaccio in the School of S. Ursula.

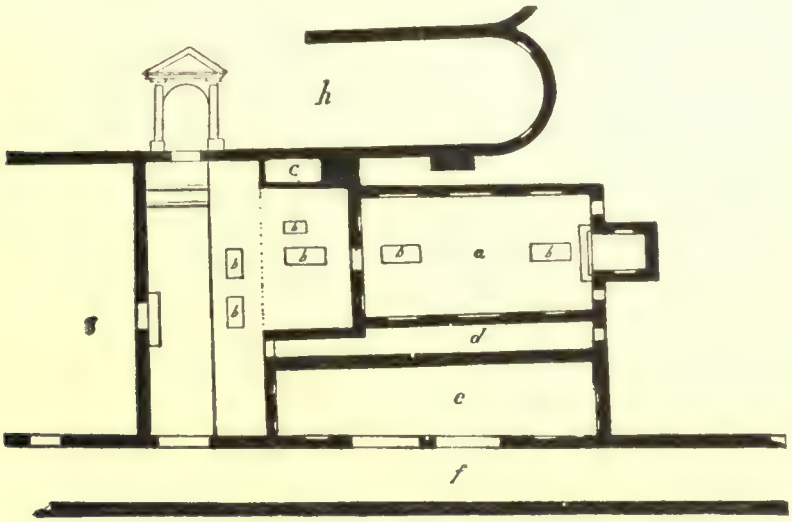


Arrangement of the Pictures by Carpaccio in the School of S. Ursula.

length of the building erected in 1647, we may conclude that as regards the length no change was made.

The ground plan of the building was laid out with reference to that of SS. Giovanni e Paolo—a magnificent church with a nave and two aisles crossed by a transept. If we stand in the central apse of this church we see before us a row of five chapels in succession, to which the Oratory of S. Ursula forms an extension outside the church.

The width of the original Oratory can be conjectured by taking together the breadth of the painting, which was over the door, the space occupied by two pilasters on either side, and the thickness of the wall. Comparing this with the later building we find that the latter was two metres wider, signifying that the distance between the church and the chapel was originally greater than it remained after the reconstruction in the seventeenth century. In de Barbaris' plan also this distance is very considerable, but it should be observed that his map affords no exact indications of Venetian topography, and may rather be called an artistic survey of the general aspect of the city.



PLAN (1750) OF THE SCUOLA AFTER THE RECONSTRUCTION IN 1647.
a. The Chapel; *b.* Tombs; *c.* the old Sacristy; *d.* covered passage; *e.* private houses; *f.* a street; *g.* the graveyard; *h.* the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

The portico occupied the centre of the chapel front, according to the ancient custom of which we still have an example in the church of S. Jacopo di Rialto; and the measurements are given in an eighteenth-century plan preserved in the Venice Archives. A line drawn on the piazzetta before the chapel to the east side of the large window of the church indicates also the position of the columns of the portico.

As we have already stated, a free space existed between the church and the chapel, upon which, according to the showing of an old plan, the sacristy was built. We find in documents mention of the *Albergo* or meeting-hall: and this room being over the sacristy that building must have had two stories.

Records also speak of one entrance-door only to the older Oratory; but another small door must have opened from the choir to the left, since a cut may be perceived in the first painting of the series, *The Arrival of the Ambassadors*. This cut, as we shall learn, was made by the painter himself to fit the picture to a little door, which probably afforded access to the lobby leading from the chapel choir to the sacristy between the two buildings.

Having thus reconstructed the original plan of the chapel, let us endeavour to imagine the outward aspect. The space between the church and the chapel was, as we have said, occupied by the sacristy, lighted probably by a grated window; and above this the window of the *Albergo* would doubtless have opened through a pointed arch. The portico, supported on at least four columns with capitals and a series of superimposed brackets forming the arches, projected from the centre of the west front. The shape of the roof is not shown distinctly on de Barbaris' plan: all we can say is that it perhaps resembled the portico which Carpaccio painted in his *S. Jerome taming the Lion* for the Scuola dei Dalmati. Over the roof above mentioned there was certainly a large rose-window, and it may be that the border of the chapel front was decorated with small flat ogives. De Barbaris' plan shows us the south side supported by three buttresses, which divided the whole surface into four compartments; and the upper portion of these was again subdivided into two smaller arches.

With regard to the interior we possess numerous indications, as much from documents as from Carpaccio's canvases themselves. Since the painting placed over the principal doorway was not cut, and since the pictures were arranged in succession along the walls, we may conclude that they must have been set at about two metres from the ground: the height, in fact, of the entrance-door. The space below the paintings was occupied by benches with panelled backs, such as may still be seen in the Scuola dei Dalmati.

If we examine the great altarpiece, *The Apotheosis of S. Ursula*, we may observe that the scene is laid under an arch supported by pilasters with Romanesque capitals. The two pilasters painted in the picture must have had beside them two similar ones of wood, which, as is the case in so many other Venetian altars, formed the frame, thus completing the architecture painted in the picture. The other canvases were undoubtedly separated by

wooden pilasters, and the architrave which ran along above the capitals on the altarpiece continued all along the walls above the other paintings.

Such approximately would have been the appearance of the lateral walls of the chapel.

The next point is to ascertain the order in which the paintings followed one another; three on the left, or Gospel side (*in cornu Evangelii*), and four to the right on that of the Epistle (*in cornu Epistolæ*). Since one of these latter paintings formed a diptych this series was not divided by *four* pilasters; but in order to preserve

Reconstruction of the Exterior of the Scuola.

the symmetry, and also for want of space, the scene of *The Dream* was separated from *The Arrival in Rome* by a plain strip of wood. By the construction of these two canvases *The Arrival in Rome* became the sequel to *The Dream*.

The entrance wall, of which the chapel-door did not occupy the centre, was adorned by a single painting, *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair*—a composition divided by means of a painted standard into two unequal parts. The smaller portion extended over the doorway; the larger over the benchers' seat, which stood against the wall below.

The altar-wall had in the centre the large painting mentioned

above, encased, as has been said, by a framework composed of two wooden pilasters, an architrave, and an arch. In the corners there must have been similar pilasters connected with those of the frame by means of the architrave; and right and left of the altar, between the two pilasters, there were two empty spaces covered probably by marble slabs, as is customary in other churches.

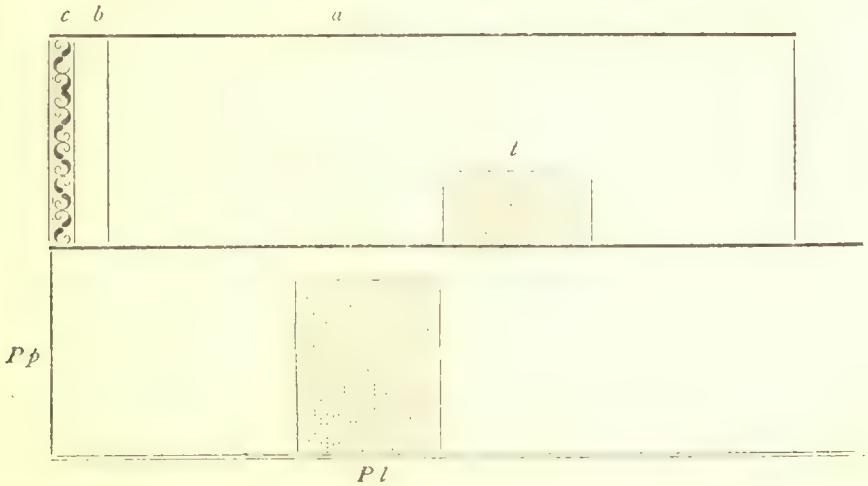
We will now examine the first painting, *The Arrival of the Ambassadors.*

Prof. Pietro Paoletti, in the *Catalogue of the Royal Gallery of Venice* 1903, p. 165, writes as follows: "And it is precisely in this canvas . . . that one may see not very ancient traces of a door existing in the original South Wall of the building." In other words, he would have us believe that the first scene was hung originally *in cornu Epistolæ* (South Wall), and that in 1785 a cut 53 cm. by 132 cm. was made to open a lateral door to the Scuola, which had already, besides the main entrance, two small doors right and left of the altar. We say advisedly "*after 1785*," because in the engravings of de Pian, published in that year, we do not see any cut in the canvas. We give a very exact drawing of the door—1.90 cm. high—in the South Wall, still existing in the Canonica of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and we mark the position over this lateral door in which Prof. Paoletti believes that this first scene hung. Now the height at which the paintings were set corresponds with that of the principal door, above which was placed *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair*: i.e. 2 m. 15 cm. high. We must therefore repeat that all the other scenes were also hung at a similar height, and if, as Prof. Paoletti thinks, *The Arrival of the Ambassadors* was placed over the "not very ancient door" in the *South Wall*, there would have been no necessity to cut the picture, that door being only 1 m. 90 cm. in height. Besides, as may be seen in the drawing, the cut in the painting does not correspond with the opening of the door.

Thus the cut in question has no visible connection with the door, and indeed it is not credible that the contemporaries of Anton Maria Zanetti and Francesco Algarotti, those warm admirers of old Venetian painting—the appreciation for which had come to life again in the eighteenth century—could have committed such a profanation as to mutilate the great painter's work merely in order to open an exit into a narrow courtyard. The canvas underneath the King's throne actually shows a cut, but this we repeat was the painter's own act to adapt the painting to the door leading to the sacristy. Clever craftsmen understand how to draw profit even from difficulties, and Carpaccio availed himself of the door to support the throne, upon which King Maurus is shown to be sitting. Now in the painting set formerly over the principal

entrance no cuts were needed, which shows that this door stood lower than that into the sacristy; the latter evidently opened from the choir, raised above the rest of the floor. The difference in the floor must have been, according to old Venetian measurements, 1 ft. 6 in. (53 cm.), because such is the height of the cut in the picture. Thus it would appear that three steps led from the nave up to the choir.

The first canvas therefore is divided into two unequal parts: one of which represents *The Arrival of the Ambassadors* and *The Colloquy of the Saint with her Father*; the other smaller one shows a number of spectators grouped under a magnificent portico. Now the last scene is likewise divided by means of a very beautiful column into two unequal portions. The longer piece



WALL ON THE SOUTH SIDE (*Cornu Epistolæ*).

Pp. Height of the principal door, or height at which the paintings were placed; *Pl*. Side-door made during the last century after the suppression; *a*. First painting; *b*. Strip of painting cut off after 1810; *c*. Frame; *t*. Cut observable in the first painting.

represents *The Martyrdom of the Saint*, the smaller *Her Funeral*. If we draw an imaginary line from the portico in the first scene to the column in the last, it would follow the choir rails and exclude the smaller divisions of the two canvases. Thus the choir occupied one-third of the floor-space, and the nave the rest: a proportion thoroughly in harmony with the customs of the period.

Before the altar steps, according to trustworthy documents, was the tomb of Pietro Loredan.

Having thus ascertained the height and length of the chapel, it behoves us to learn the exact position of the altar. Since we have already determined the position of the altar-painting on the wall, and thence also the precise point reached by the lower extremity of the picture, we may conclude that immediately below

the picture there was a plain predella, and under that again the altar itself, raised from the floor by three steps.

The chapel roof must next occupy our attention. It would be a mistake to suppose that the Scuola at the beginning of its existence, and when possessed of but scanty means, could have indulged in the expense of a vaulted roof of masonry, when all known conditions rather lead us to suppose that the Brethren had to be content with wood. The roof probably took the form of a barrel, a shape much in use in early Venetian churches, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To imagine what the roof of S. Orsola was like we should look, not at the monumental church of S. Stefano, but at other churches of more modest dimensions, such as S. Giacomo all' Orio (1225), S. Giovanni Decollato (1213) and S. Andrea della Zirada (1330). These two latter churches have very beautiful barrel-shaped roofs, barbarously concealed during the eighteenth century by flat ceilings of masonry. The roof of S. Giacomo all' Orio has fortunately been preserved for us in its primitive form.

The better to understand the construction of this roof we must first examine the chapel walls outside. These are divided by three buttresses into four equal compartments, further subdivided by two small arcades. To prevent any sinking the early architects bound the walls together by means of great ties called "catene"; = *chains*. These *catene* formed the heads of the external buttresses, and of the corbels of the smaller arches, thus constituting a set of seven equi-distant beams. We note in this connection that we have no knowledge during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the use of chains of iron: they were usually of wood. From the inside lateral walls there projected at a certain height a continuous and sloping architrave, required to sustain the cross-beams. We may therefore picture to ourselves the interior appearance of the roof thus: the wooden roof was spanned by seven arches, the intermediate spaces being subdivided into squares, giving to the whole the appearance of the carcass of a ship reversed. The space left between the architrave over the paintings and this roof was occupied by a series of brackets (a characteristic element in Venetian architecture) set two and two between each cross-beam.

We know from the MS. of Marco Antonio Luciani that outside the chapel, between two buttresses of the South Wall, stood the tomb which contained the remains of Giovanni Bellini. The first tomb from the portico was that of Fantin Loredan, and next to it was that of Bellini. But according to Venetian custom other remains besides those of the owners of the tomb might be placed in these sarcophagi, which formed part of the family estate. The tomb wherein the

bones of Giambellino were laid belonged originally to the Abbati family, and afterwards to that of Gabriele di Giorgi or Zorzi.[1]

The tomb, to judge by Luciani's description, must have resembled the sarcophagus preserved in the Scuola della Carità: i.e. large slabs of marble or Istrian stone, fastened end-wise to the wall.

But there were other tombs inside the chapel of greater import for the purpose of this essay. In examining the MS. of Marco Antonio Luciani, Prior in the sixteenth century of the Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo[2] and of Onorato Arrigoni (both now in the Cicogna Collection at the Museo Civico in Venice), which describe the sepulchral slabs in SS. Giovanni e Paolo,[3] we are astounded at the number of Loredan tombs. The dead of this name buried inside the church belonged to that branch of the Loredan family which dwelt in S. Canciano, the adjacent parish. Luciani states: "In the chapel of the Confraternity of S. Ursula there are two other tombs of the Loredan family, who displayed their munificence in commissioning precious paintings by Vittore Carpaccio. He executed his work with great delicacy, and set thereon the arms of the Loredan, thus bearing testimony of their bounty." And indeed in the list of the Benefactors of the Scuola we find the name of Loredan recurring frequently.

The ancient abode of this family exists no longer, and on the site rises the Palazzo Widmann-Rezzonico; but a memorial of the Loredan in that neighbourhood yet remains, for over a water-gate on the canal close by may still be seen the family shield, blackened by time and almost hidden from view by tottering stones—the sole relic of a glorious past.

The writings of two famous Venetian genealogists, Capellari

[1] The Abbati family came originally from Florence and bore the same arms as the Medici: six balls gules in a field argent (Crollalanza. *Dizionario blasonico-storico*). These arms were carved upon Bellini's sarcophagus with the inscription "*Sepoltura de Polo e Antonio Abbati fratelli et de so heredi.*" From documents preserved in the Venice Archives we find that in the early years of the fourteenth century this family already lived in the city. An Abbati—one Fra Giotto—even earned the public gratitude by erecting the fine church of S. Antonio di Castello at his own expense. (Fr. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima. Ediz.* Martinioni, 1663, p. 29.) Many Florentines resided in Venice in those days, and formed a sodality of their own, meeting in fact in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Our researches to discover how the tomb of the Abbati passed to the family of Zorzi have proved fruitless. Perhaps the Abbati had left Venice. In Bellini's Will several members of the Zorzi family appear among the executors:—1489, 23 *settembre. Testam.: Ego Zenevra uxor egregii viri ser Ioannis Belini pictoris de confinio sancte Marine . . . constitus meos fidei commissarios egregium virum ser Gabrielem q. Georgii consobrinum meum.*—1498, 14 *dicembre. Testam.: Ego Alouisius Bellinus natus d. Ioannis Bellini de confinio sancte marine . . . constitus meam solam fidei commissariam dominam Lucretiam consortem ser Gabrielis de Giorgio amitam meam.* Gabriello de' Zorzi, cloth merchant, lived in the same parish (Sta. Marina) and perhaps in the same house as Giovanni Bellini. Lucrezia, Gabriello's wife, was sister to Ginevra Bocheta, the wife of Bellini. The two families were thus related, and for that reason shared the tomb.

[2] In the *Alphabet* of the Scuola of S. Ursula we read under date October 31st, 1539, this note: "*Rezevi mi mistro Marco Antonio Luciano Veneto* 'prior' *del Convento di San Zuane e Paulo. . . .*"

[3] Museo Civico. Manoscritti E. Cicogna, No. 1976. *Inscrizioni nella Chiesa e Monasterio dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo di Venezia*, raccolte dal Padre Maestro Marcantonio Luciani.

and Barbaro, assist us to reconstruct the pedigree of these Loredan of S. Canciano. The family had for their founder one Alberto. A descendant of his, Marco, who died September 23rd, 1363, was buried inside one of the interior walls of the chapel of S. Ursula; but later on, when Carpaccio's pictures were set up in position, his tomb was moved elsewhere.[1]

To mention those Loredan only who are connected with our story, we note another Marco—husband of the wealthy patrician lady, Morosina Morosini,—who died in 1488, and was likewise laid to rest in the chapel of S. Ursula. The descendants of this Marco were among the most generous benefactors of the Scuola.

The first of these, Pietro Loredan, was born in 1456 in the parish of S. Canciano, and in 1474 profited by the privilege, known as the Grace of S. Barbara,[2] which permitted young patricians to enter the great Council of the Republic at eighteen years of age instead of twenty. In the same year, 1474, he was elected Podestà of Capodistria, and in his later years Councillor of Cyprus.[3] As such we find him mentioned in Mas-Latrie's *History of the Island of Cyprus* and in a *History of the Kings of the House of Lusignan*, written by one Giovan Francesco Loredan, under the pseudonym of "Cavaliere Enrico Giblet." Pietro Loredan died in Cyprus, but his remains were carried back to Venice by his sons Bernardo and Marco, who caused him to be buried in the Oratory of S. Ursula in a place of honour in front of the altar steps with this inscription:

PETRO LAURETANO SENATORI OPT. REDDITIS PATRIS OSSIBUS PER MARCUM FR.
EX CYPRO UBI MAGISTRATU DECESSERAT FILII PIENTISS. POS. OBIIT. MDVIII.

Amongst the other gifts presented to the Scuola by Pietro Loredan and mentioned in their archives there is specially recorded a precious chalice, which, as we know, was among the property stolen[4] some years later.

When his father, Marco Loredan, brought the young Pietro before the magistrates to take the oath of citizenship he had with him another and younger son, Giorgio, of whom we know nothing, except that he married, first in 1478, a lady of the house of Vitturi; and after her death he united himself to a daughter of the house of dei Lion.

[1] *Arch. di Stato. Codice Miscell. Genealogie del Barbaro.*

[2] Ibid., Balla d' Oro. Reg. III. G. 203 (at the back).

[3] His Will is dated Nov. 26th, 1504. Sez. Not. Lodovico Talenti, B. 956, c. 539. That of Clara Bondumier, Nov. 27th, 1504. Ibid., B. 955, c. 147.

[4] Concerning the gift of this chalice we read in the *Libro delle spese della Scuola* as follows: 1517 (18) 10 *zener: Per schuolla detta a commission de miser Marco Loredan fo de miser Piero per el lato de un calexe et sua patena d'argento con le sue arme al qual consegno mi ser Bernardo suo fradello in questo zorno al nostro Vardian grande ma laxado per nome della schuolla el qual peza onze* 7-9. 3 . . .

Girolamo, a third son of Marco and Morosina, is mentioned in his mother's Will; who requests that he may be received into the convent of the Madonna dell' Orto; and lest the friars refuse to "accept and keep or direct and govern" (*accipere et tenere ac regere et gubernare*) this youth, she bequeaths to them some houses and other funds.[1] That this Girolamo was of feeble mind may be conjectured from the absence of all mention of his name in any public capacity, and his existence is only known through his mother's Will.

Marco and Morosina Loredan had besides five daughters, two of whom, Elena and Benedetta, took the veil at Torcello; the the other three,—Maddelena, Cristina, and Agnese,—each inherited a "*street of houses*" on the Giudecca. From the Wills of Cristina and Agnese we learn that they desired to be buried in the chapel of S. Ursula: and that their wishes were fulfilled. Such are therefore the Loredan who live again for us in Carpaccio's paintings.[2]

There was also another branch of the Loredan family of S. Canciano descended from the above-mentioned Alberto, and a scion of that house was the Fantino Loredan, who was buried at S. Orsola, outside the chapel, near the spot where later on the remains of the painter Giovanni Bellini were laid to rest. A nephew of this Fantino, Antonio, surnamed *Zaffo*, had descendants living in Carpaccio's day, who were likewise numbered among the most generous benefactors of the Scuola di S. Orsola.

The head of this line at that date was Nicolò, surnamed *Tartaglia* (the Stammerer). Born in 1433, he took office in accordance with the Grace of S. Barbara eighteen years later,[3] and married, first in 1463, Eugenia, a wealthy patrician lady, the last descendant of a branch of the Caotorta; and secondly, Adriana, the daughter of Francesco Zorzi.[4]

We have the Will of Loredan's first wife, made a short time before her death, December 20th, 1474.[5]

Nicolò, alias *Tartaglia*, was *Provveditore al Sale*, Castellan at Traù, and finally *Provveditore* at Orzinuovi. He had four sons—Angelo, Federigo, Paolo, and Alvise. The first, born in 1547,[6] was one of the *Dieci Savi* of the Rialto. He never married and lived until 1530. He enjoyed both the affection and respect of

[1] Will of Morosina Loredan, 19 marzo, 1471. Sez. Not. Pietro De Rubeis, B. 870.

[2] Another Will of Morosina Loredan, 24 maggio 1481. Sez. Not. Lodo vico Talenti, B. 956, c. 474.
Will of Cristina Loredan, 2 maggio, 1504. Sez. Not. ibid., B. 955, c. 120.
Will of Agnese Loredan, 3 ottobre, 1523. Sez. Not. Francesco Bianco, B. 124, c. 93.

[3] Balla d' oro., Reg. III., c. 289 (at the back).

[4] Will, 21 giugno, 1519. Sez. Not. Bernardo Cavagnis, B. 270, c. 85.

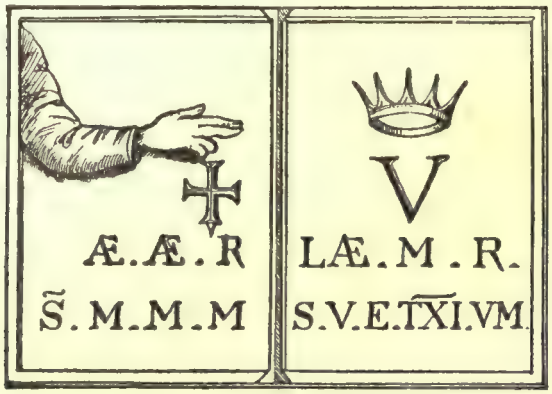
[5] Sez. Not. Bartol. Grassolario, B. 471, c. 323.

[6] Balla d' oro., Reg. III., c. 205.

all his family, and his Will tells us of the close ties of friendship that existed between him and the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[1] We also have his brother Federigo's Will, which alludes to the painter, Marco Pensaben, a friar of the same convent.[2] With regard to the other brothers, Paolo and Alvise, we have no definite information. We may add in conclusion that Antonio surnamed *Basilisco* (cockatrice), Nicolò's eldest son, born in 1479, took his seat under the Grace of S. Barbara[3] in 1498 and married in 1510 an heiress of the patrician family of Marcello.

These Loredans were also Benefactors of the Scuola of S. Ursula, and Carpaccio has therefore represented them in his pictures; whilst for many generations afterwards the name of Loredan recurs continuously in the Registers of the benefactors of the Scuola and upon the tomb-stones in the chapel.[4]

[1] Will, 22 marzo, 1404. Sez. Not. Ludovico Talenti, B. 955, c. 274.
[2] Will, 25 sett., 1527. Sez. Not. Alessandro Falconi, B. 410, c. 2.
[3] Balla d' oro., Reg. III., C. 207, Reg IV., c. 232
[4] To the same branch of San Canciano belonged also the Doges Leonardo and Pietro Loredan, the former of whom built the superb palace near S. Vitale, and originated a new branch of the family.



Emblems of the Scuole di S. Maria della Misericordia and di Sant' Orsola on the Case Pollini in the Ruga Giuffa.

CHAPTER V

THE LEGEND OF S. URSULA AND CARPACCIO'S PAINTINGS

THE better to follow the Cycle of paintings in the Scuola dedicated to S. Ursula, we should first of all consider with some detail the Legend from which Carpaccio drew his inspiration.

The cult of S. Ursula and her companions has its origin at Cologne.

Tradition relates that about the year 385 a legion of eleven thousand virgins professing the faith of Christ, with the Holy Ursula at their head, and of twenty thousand Christians led by Eterio-Conon, coming from the island of Britain were massacred by the Germans before the walls of Cologne.[1] In that same fourth century, as appears from an ancient inscription, there arose at the foot of the Greesberg upon the spot where the martyrs were buried the Basilica of S. Ursula; but in 451 during an invasion of the Huns this church was razed to the ground and a great multitude of the citizens of Cologne were killed. Hence, when at the beginning of the sixth century a new church was built and among the ruins of the old one a great quantity of bones were found,—doubtless the remains of the slaughter of 451,—popular tradition, which creates its legends with small regard for chronology, merged the two massacres at Cologne into one. From this confusion of the two incidents, that of the Huns and the murder of S. Ursula and her companions one hundred years earlier, the Legend of the Martyrdom of the eleven thousand virgins assumed its traditional form.

The earliest of the legends dates from the tenth century, and

[1] Maugenre. *Sainte Ursule et ses légions*, Lille, Paris, 1904. It is not unimportant to record that other hagiographers reduce the immense Ursulan legion to *one single virgin companion* in martyrdom, called *Undecimilla*, from which arose the Legend of the eleven thousand (*undicimila*) martyrs.

is dedicated to Giron, Archbishop of Cologne.[1] It was inserted in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, and coincides in its principal features with Carpaccio's representation.

The literature of this Legend is most copious, but for our purpose the Italian sources are best worthy of our consideration.

Among these the earliest and most important is the *Legenda Aurea*, a monumental work in which Jacopo di Varagio or da Voragine (who died Archbishop of Genoa in 1298 at the age of ninety-six) collected innumerable religious traditions.[2] Of Voragine's book,—the earliest and principal source to which mediæval artists had access,—we have an Italian translation by Nicolao Manerbi, which Carpaccio must certainly have seen, since it was printed at Venice in 1475 by Nicolò Jenson.[3]

THE MARTYRDOM OF S. URSULA.

Another source we may trace in the "Sacred Representations" (*Sacre Rappresentazioni*): little books of the Lives and Martyrdoms of the Saints, reprinted many times in the fifteenth century. Brunet in his *Manual* quotes one only concerning S. Ursula: "The History of S. Ursula with the eleven thousand Virgins, who were all by her converted, together with certain holy men, and afterwards gloriously martyred" (*La Storia di Santa Orsola con le undici mila Vergini quali tutte da lei furono convertite insieme con alcuni santi huomini e poi gloriosamente martirizzate. Firenze, alle Scale di Badia 1561*); but the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice possesses several examples, among which we observe a "Representation of S. Ursula, Virgin and Martyr, newly printed (*Rappresentazione di S. Orsola, Vergine et Martire, nouvamente stampata*). Florence, March, 1554."

[1] Maugenre, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

[2] An English translation of da Voragine's *Golden Legend* was one of the works printed by William Caxton.

[3] *Legende di tutti i sancti et le sancte dalla romana sedia acceptati et honorati* tradotte dal latino di Jacopo da Voragine per Nicolao di Manerbi Veneto monaco dell' ordine Camaldolese. . . . Impresse per maestro Nicolò Jenson franzese. Venetia addì primo di luio millequatrocento septantacinque. Other Venetian editions of Manerbi's work were published in 1477, 1481, and 1487.

This little book appeared long after Carpaccio's time, but the woodcuts that illustrate it, which are in the purest Florentine fourteenth-century style, must date back to the preceding century, for we know that the blocks and dies were carefully preserved and used repeatedly in successive editions.[1] The text also is derived from very ancient sources, and abounds in quaint and sprightly dialogue. In the Italian legends, moreover, a foretaste of the Renaissance is perceptible, a sense of the picturesque, and an instinct for beauty and magnificence; whereas in the northern tradition the subject is treated with greater simplicity and restraint. This liking for worldly pomp and brilliant colour is shown in a passage from the *Rappresentazione Fiorentina* of 1554, where the Ambassador says to his steward:

> Truova su, scalco, veste et ornamenti
> et oro et perle et gioie et drappi assai
> et copia di scudieri et di sergenti,
> lattitii, pance, hermelini et vai,
> rubini, balasci et copia di pendenti
> et ogni cosa in punto metterai . . .
>
> Però, vo'che si facci balli et canti
> et che ognun mostri d'allegrezza segno,
> prendete servi di costor gli amanti,
> et ordinale con prudentia e ingegno,
> date l'acqua a le main et con prestezza,
> usate sopra tutto gentilezza.[2]

This Legend, permeated throughout with the spirit of the Renaissance, stands for that reason in absolute contrast to the dry-as-dust tale of Jacopo da Voragine; and the fine woodcuts,—among which *The Martyrdom* is in its way a little masterpiece,—add further weight to our argument.

The variants of this Legend are both numerous and noteworthy. In all of them S. Ursula is the daughter of the King of Britain; but all do not agree as to the name of the King. Some call him *Theonotus*, others *Theodatus*, others again *Maurus*. They all agree, however, in narrating the arrival of the Ambassadors from

[1] Prince d'Essling shows that *Le premier livre xylographique*, printed in Venice, is itself an example of this custom.

[2] Choose out, my steward, robes and ornaments
And gold and pearls and jewels and attire galore
And call my henchmen up and officers,
To bring vessels of all sorts, ermine and miniver,
Rubies, and balas rubies, and pendants in plenty,
All things e'en prepared in readiness.

Yet will I that ye all make dance and song
Each man show of merriment the sign,
Take ye the service of these lovers,
And order all with wisdom and discretion;
Give water for their hands and speedily,
Use above all a gentle courtesy.

the Pagan King of England, who come to demand the hand of the Princess Ursula for Prince *Hereus*, or *Eterius*, or *Conon*, the son of their lord, and in telling us how the King, after an interview with his daughter, agrees, stipulating only that the bridegroom shall be baptized and that Ursula prior to her marriage shall make a long journey, attended by ten noble damsels, who, like Ursula herself, were each to be accompanied by one thousand virgins.

The conditions having been accepted, the virgins embark; but a violent storm compels them to land at Cologne, where, be it specially noticed, according to nearly all the versions,—including the earliest,—the Saint's Dream occurs. An angel appears to her in her sleep, commanding her to betake herself to Rome, and thence to return to Cologne, where she will receive the palm of Martyrdom. All the legends agree likewise in causing her to perform her journey to Rome alone; whilst her betrothed remained in a religious house to prepare for his baptism. But on this point Carpaccio declined to be bound by tradition, depicting the young man accompanying the Saint on her pilgrimage.

From Cologne the pilgrims journey along the river. They stop at Mayence, and at Basle they leave their boats to proceed on foot towards Rome, where Pope Cyriacus receives them on their arrival with royal welcome. The aged Pontiff had also been warned in a dream of impending martyrdom, and in consequence, resigning the Papal Throne, attended by a large following of bishops and cardinals, he accompanies S. Ursula on her return journey. At Cologne the pious band are set upon by the Huns, who slaughter them all.

In this concluding scene also the Legend introduces a love-episode. Ursula by her beauty touches the heart of the King of the Huns,—or, according to other authorities, the son of the King;—but she resists the blandishments of her would-be lover and is put to death along with her companions.

A tale so sumptuous and varied, with its stately embassies, its receptions royal and pontifical, set in the framework of three great Cities,—Rome, Basle, and Cologne,—naturally became a favourite subject for the painter's fancy: and numerous examples exist to tell of its constant popularity. So at Cologne, besides countless representations of the Saint herself, the Legend has inspired several large and most interesting Cycles of paintings. Among these one bears the date 1546 and the signature of the painter, "Gurgen von Scheiven." Every one knows the masterpiece at Bruges due to that wondrous genius, Memling. But the power to shake off the trammels of antiquated and scholastic tradition, and to experience and render these legendary scenes with overmastering effect was centred above all in Carpaccio.

The Shrine of S. Ursula at Bruges.
By John Memling.

THE ARRIVAL OF S. URSULA AT COLOGNE.
By Gürgen von Scheiven. In the Church of S. Ursula, Cologne.

He had indeed had precursors in Italy, and that too in Venetian territory. As at Orvieto *The Last Judgment* of Luca Signorelli foreshadowed the Sixtine Chapel and Michelangelo, so at Treviso at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, an obscure artist forestalled the great Venetian, and prompted his Epic of S. Ursula.[1]

The church of S. Margherita at Treviso was an example of fourteenth-century Lombard architecture. A hay-loft in the time of Napoleon I., and later on a riding-school, it was finally demolished some years since. A chapel of this church contained some frescoes by an early painter, who, despite the infancy of Art, yet had an expert hand and a very original fancy. These paintings would have been lost had not Professor Luigi Bailo, a Trevisan and a student jealous for the credit of his native country, carefully detached them with great care and transported them to the Town Museum. In a monograph upon that painter, Professor Bailo suggests Tommaso da Modena as their probable author, who, it is known, adorned Treviso with his work in the second half of the fourteenth century.[2] We cannot here discuss this hypothesis,

[1] We record also for the sake of History the very inferior frescoes, which Carpaccio probably never saw, representing several scenes in the life of this Saint, in the church of S. Orsola at Vigo di Pieve del Cadore. They belong to the fourteenth century, and in one of the compartments the Saint is shown with a banner in her hand, surrounded by her companions. She turns towards a man and woman who kneel in an attitude of prayer: figures probably meant for the donors,—i.e. Osvaldo Sacco and his wife. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. *St. delle Pitt.* vol. iv., p. 256.

[2] Bailo. *Degli affreschi salvati nella demolita chiesa di Santa Margherita in Treviso.* Treviso, 1883:

In order to judge the analogy between the work of Carpaccio and that of his unknown predecessor we here submit a description of the twelve paintings which adorned the church at Treviso.

1 (5 metres square). The King of England, a Pagan, having heard reports of the high merits in beauty and virtue of Ursula, daughter of Maurus, Christian King of Ireland, thinks of asking her in marriage for his son. He commits the matter with a letter to two ambassadors, with whom he talks and gives directions with extended finger. One of the ambassadors touches his ring-finger, whilst the other points out the retinue ready to depart. Among these may be seen two pages, one of whom has a falcon upon his wrist. A composition of six figures in two groups.

2 (5 m. sq.). The two ambassadors kneeling before King Maurus have presented the letter, which he reads with a feeling of thoughtful satisfaction. The mother introduces her daughter, to whom the decision is referred. The youthful Saint speaks: rays of wisdom issue from her mouth.

3 (5 m. sq.). The Saint assembles her companions and female attendants. Many other persons join her suite; among whom are boys and youthful male relatives, and also two bishops, those of Basle and Gratz. A composition of twenty-three figures in three groups.

4 (5 m. sq.). Baptism according to the ancient rite of the son of the King of England. He is already naked in the font: another person is stripping himself in order to follow his example.

5 (5 m. sq.). The Saint ascends the Rhine with her companions and two bishops in four sailing vessels. She is in sight of Cologne. An angel reveals to her that on her return thither she will receive the palm of martyrdom.

6 (5 m. sq.). Solemn entry into Rome where the Saint with her companions and the two bishops are received by the Pope, attended by cardinals and prelates. The background is rich in examples of Gothic architecture.

7 (5 m. sq.). The Pope clad in his Pontifical robes sleeps in his bed in an alcove. An angel directs him also to join the Saint's suite.

8 (5 m. sq.). The Pope in the Consistory announces to the cardinals his resolution to abdicate in order to accompany the Saint. A prelate kneeling implores him not to do so; the

which yet awaits documentary confirmation, since our concern is mainly to point out the striking analogy between the works of Carpaccio and those of his predecessors: a resemblance which leads us to suppose that Carpaccio must have known the frescoes at S. Margherita. It is true that when Carpaccio in 1515 painted for the church of S. Francesco at Treviso the *Meeting of SS. Joachim and Anna* (now in the Venice Academy) he had already completed the S. Ursula Cycle some years before; but it would not be unreasonable to suppose that his connection with Treviso dated back to a much earlier period. Certain it is that not only do the two Cycles represent identical scenes, but in the details, and especially in the scene of the Martyrdom, the analogy is so close that we cannot possibly believe it to be accidental. Thus in the case of both painters the Ambassador presents a letter kneeling, and is followed by pages with falcon on wrist: Carpaccio's Saint discussing her marriage, makes the same gesture with her finger as the Ambassadors in the Trevisan frescoes: and

cardinals show signs of varied feelings: wonder, anger, contempt, and horror. One appears also himself persuaded; another taking the matter seriously studies a book. The Pope himself removes his tiara.

9 (5 m. sq.). The procession of prelates, with the Pope in the act of benediction, leaves Rome. The Saint follows carrying a banner, and attended by her suite of virgins.

10 (2 m. sq.). The Saint with her companions descends the Rhine in boats and approaches Cologne. She instructs and encourages her followers. These are the two end-fragments of a large painting brought together. The rest had already collapsed.

11 (11 m. sq.). The Martyrdom of the Saint and her companions by the Huns beneath the walls of Cologne.

12 (2 m. sq.). The altar-piece. S. Ursula with six of her companions. A noble figure of the Saint, who alone wears a halo and carries a banner. At her feet are two kneeling worshippers, in the proportion of $\frac{1}{7}$, attired in the costume of the fourteenth century.

Bailo adds beside:

"These paintings of the Story of S. Ursula show a period of advanced art still in the "fourteenth century, but in its second half. If we observe the architecture, it is in style most "beautiful Italian Gothic: and likewise the furniture. The costumes, not only of the figures of "the story but also of the two worshippers at the foot of the altar-piece, are of the fourteenth "century. The eyes are still almond-shaped, but have character and expression. The "extremities are yet defective, but already some of them show that Art is on the path of "progress and of truth. The perspective is wrong certainly; but it is clear that the painter "feels it and seeks some method of presenting it. An important fact in fixing the period "is that the Pope's tiara has still but one crown only. Although the painter lived in the age "of two or three crowns, he had a lively recollection of the tradition, afterwards forgotten by "later painters, that up to the time of Boniface VIII. the tiara had but one crown. As for "the drawing of the outlines, done, as was customary, with a style, it is simple, not too "angular, and the method is grandiose: the decoration of the garments, perhaps, where gold "and silver should appear, is incised. The colours of the robes of magnificently embroidered "stuffs are splendid and well harmonized. Some of the most beautiful tints put on dry are lost, "as for instance in the Saint's robe, which appears almost always marked in plain chalk. The "azure of the blue sky was laid on in dry paint over a dark preparation. That which "commands universal admiration is the truth and sweetness of the countenances. They are "all in clear tints with a warm outline set off by a dark red line; but the flesh, though in a "single colour, is shown in full relief. The hair all blonde is especially characteristic. The "grandiose scheme and the carefully-thought-out disposal of the groups, combined with so "much variety and splendour of the situations depicted, reveal a great painter. If the artist "felt Giotto's influence he is yet removed from him by many divers characteristics, which show "his affinity with the Venetian School."

67 The English Ambassadors presented to the Father of S. Ursula.
Fresco in the Museo Civico, Treviso.

68 The Ambassadors dismissed by the Father of S. Ursula.
Fresco in the Museo Civico, Treviso.

The Dream of the Pope in the latter resembles in many particulars that of the Saint, as represented by Carpaccio. As might reasonably be expected, however, the Trevisan artist, all the wealth of his fancy notwithstanding, betrays the inexperience of Art in its infancy. Carpaccio shows us youth in its flower, liberty in movement, graceful forms, and a most dexterous mingling of tranquil gaiety with almost unconscious vigour.

Carlo Ridolfi in his *Meraviglie dell'Arte* has left the following description of the arrangement and effect of Carpaccio's paintings in the Scuola di Sant' Orsola:

"But much more excellent were the works executed by Vittore for the Confraternity of S. Ursula, situated beside the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; for which he obtained the utmost praise. There, then, in seven pictures of varied sizes he tells with great pains the story of this Royal Saint.

"In the first may be seen the Ambassadors of the King of England introduced to Maurus, or as others call him Deonotus, King of Britain, to demand his daughter the Princess as bride for the Prince, their master's son. They are garbed in sumptuous attire with collars embroidered in gold, and from their necks hang golden chains and jewels. In another part the King in his apartment, meditating upon this marriage,—the English King being hostile to the Faith,—is consoled by his daughter, who persuades him to consent to the contract. At the foot of the staircase is seated an old woman with a white cloth over her shoulders, very naturally painted.

"In the second King Maurus dismisses the Ambassadors with certain conditions and requests on behalf of his daughter; among which is one that the Bridegroom shall send her ten noble ladies, each of whom shall be attended by a thousand maidens.

"In the third the same Ambassadors are met on their return by the Prince, and being conducted to the King's presence,—who is seen among his councillors,—report the demands of the British King. This scene is adorned by many palaces and curious fashions of garments, so that everything is beautifully represented and in vast numbers.

"In the fourth painting the English Prince appears in the act of taking leave of his father in the presence of the Court; and in the same picture, which is divided by a standard, the Prince may be seen in a ship, drawn up beside a wharf decked with rich tapestries, whereon he is met by the Princess Ursula, attended by noble damsels; and further on the Royal Couple take their leave of the British King and prepare to embark. At the foot of the painting is written *Victoris Carpatii Veneti opus anno 1495.*

"In the next picture appears the City of Rome and the Mole of Hadrian, beside the wall of which may be seen Pope Cyriacus with a long procession of cardinals and bishops. Before him are the Royal Pair and some of the virgins, kneeling to receive the Papal Benediction. Here Vittore has portrayed the said Mole and everything else with such accuracy that they seem really present, so truly has he imitated nature with his brush.

"In the sixth painting, in a noble apartment, asleep in a sumptuous bed lies S. Ursula, to whom an angel appears to announce the end of her pilgrimage, and how through martyrdom she and her virgin-companions will mount to Heaven.

"Then in the seventh scene we admire the ship bearing the holy virgins arriving in the harbour of Cologne, then besieged by the Huns. Soldiers attired in ancient costume approach in a barge to observe them. Other soldiers are scattered about upon the wharf; and in the distance may be seen the City of Cologne.

"In the eighth painting is shown the glorious Martyrdom of the holy virgins, of the said Pontiff, and of the fortunate heroes, who were in divers fashion slain by the hands of the cruel barbarians with swords and arrows. Foremost among them appears the generous Princess, who offers her delicate bosom to the stroke of the barbarian King; whilst he, indignant at her refusal to become his bride, fixing the shaft to his bow, buries it in that noble breast, depriving her of life. In such a way Ursula with laudable

stratagem meets her death in this pilgrimage, preserving her virginity for her Celestial Spouse. In another part of the painting are celebrated the funeral rites of the dead Princess. Borne to her grave by bishops, in dying she enriched the blessed mansions of the Empyrean with a multitude of martyred virgins. And here he has written his name as in the others with the date 1493.

"He then over the altar represents the Saint standing upon a sheaf of palms surrounded by the crowd of her virgins, decked out with delicate embroideries, coifs, and sumptuous robes; two of whom carry purple banners."

The order adopted by Ridolfi in his description has been followed also by other writers who have studied the paintings in the Scuola; but neither Ridolfi nor any of the others state definitely on which side of the chapel the Story began: whether *a cornu Epistolæ* or *a cornu Evangelii*. And this is a very important point to ascertain, because upon it depends to a great extent the decorative effect. At present the order of Carpaccio's Scenes in the Gallery of the Venice Academy commences *a cornu Epistolæ*, and the large altar-piece is placed between *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair* and *The Arrival in Rome*, instead of occupying its original position between *The Obsequies* and the first *Reception of the Ambassadors*. This arrangement has nothing to commend it, although we gladly accord our recognition to the Directorate of the Academy Galleries for the idea of exhibiting all the paintings of the S. Ursula Cycle in one octagonal room. According to our opinion (already expressed) the series should commence *a cornu Evangelii*, and for the following reasons. In the first place we know that the early painters, mindful of the smallest detail, always grouped the figures in their pictures in such a way that the shadows should fall in the direction of the light coming from hall or church windows. It is in conformity with this custom that the shadows are thrown in Carpaccio's canvases; so that our opinion hereon is supported if we recall that the chapel of the Scuola was lighted by a large rose-window over the door.

Another weightier argument is that the Loredan benefactors of the Scuola, portrayed in the first scene, should face the altar and not turn their backs upon it. They would thus not appear neglected in a remote and obscure corner, which according to the hitherto received arrangement would be the case, but would rather stand forth in full view and light. Moreover, the cut which we observe in the first canvas under the King's throne proves, as has already been stated, that a door must have opened where the painting was hung in the chapel. Now in the plan attributed to de Barbaris, which shows the South Wall of the Scuola, we find no trace of a door. We may affirm therefore that the door opened on the North or Gospel side, and led from the chapel to the sacristy.

Let us consider now the point of sight from which this picture

is composed, which is set as nearly as possible on the big ship in the background. We have shown above how two-thirds of the painting was in the choir, shut off by the balustrade. The visitor, who stood outside, viewed the picture from the perspective angle desired by the artist; that is, from the point of sight marked by the large ship. His attention is first of all arrested by the Loredan group standing under the arches of the portico in a good light and a place of honour; next in the centre King Maurus and his councillors; and finally, in the third compartment and the darkest corner, he perceives the private colloquy between Ursula and her father. In the last compartment a flight of steps leads out of the picture, which, admitting the perspective plan proposed by us, would appear to terminate in the chapel itself. On the North Wall (*in cornu Evangelii*) above-mentioned therefore, starting from the altar, there should be, separated by two pilasters, *The Arrival of the Ambassadors*, *The Reply of the King the Saint's father*, and *The Return of the Ambassadors to their own Sovereign*. Then the visitor, turning to the left, saw the other three paintings on the South Wall (*in cornu Epistolæ*) separated by two pilasters, whilst the longest painting of the Cycle, *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair* occupied the entire transverse wall, through which opened the door of entry.

Carpaccio also endeavoured to bring about a species of decorative harmony between the two parallel walls and the entrance wall, through a special disposition of the backgrounds in the three contiguous paintings; causing them, in a sense, to exhibit the successive phases of the story. For instance, if we examine the third and fourth scene, *The Return of the Ambassadors* and *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair*, we may observe that the two banners floating in the wind in the same direction complete the framing of a portion of the composition: and that the background of the fourth scene displays towers and castles, which have their complement and correspondence in the great mass of Castel Sant' Angelo in the fifth scene: *The Arrival in Rome*. All these chords of harmony would be lost were we to accept an order different from the one which we here put forward.

Thus Carpaccio, with the exquisite delicacy of his decorative sense, knew how to make the most of all the details, even those least adapted, and to combine the several parts of his subject into one harmonious whole. Our arrangement, moreover, admits of a chronological development of the events represented. The observer standing before the first picture studies it from left to right, as though reading a book. He perceives first *The Arrival of the Ambassadors* and *The Colloquy between S. Ursula and her Father*; then in the second painting *The Dismissal of the Ambassadors*;

and in the third their *Return to the King of England.* The fourth represents two scenes: *Hereus taking Leave of his Father* and *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair.* The fifth and sixth scenes, *The Dream* and *The Arrival in Rome*, form a diptych, divided by a plain strip of gilt wood and framed by two gilt pilasters. The Legend relates that at Cologne S. Ursula received in a dream the command to go to Rome, which therefore coincides with our proposed arrangement. If we look at the diptych from left to right we see first *The Dream* and then its sequel, *The Arrival in Rome*; whereas, according to the order chosen in the Academy, *The Dream* follows *The Arrival in Rome*, thus creating an anachronism. The seventh painting represents *S. Ursula's Return to Cologne*, in company with Pope Cyriacus. Finally the eighth and last painting, parallel naturally to the first, extended over two-thirds of its length into the choir. The scene of *The Martyrdom* covered the longest portion inside the choir; the shorter part outside the balustrade sufficing for the representation of *The Saint's Obsequies*, at which various personages of importance are present, among whom the painter introduces other members of the Loredan family.

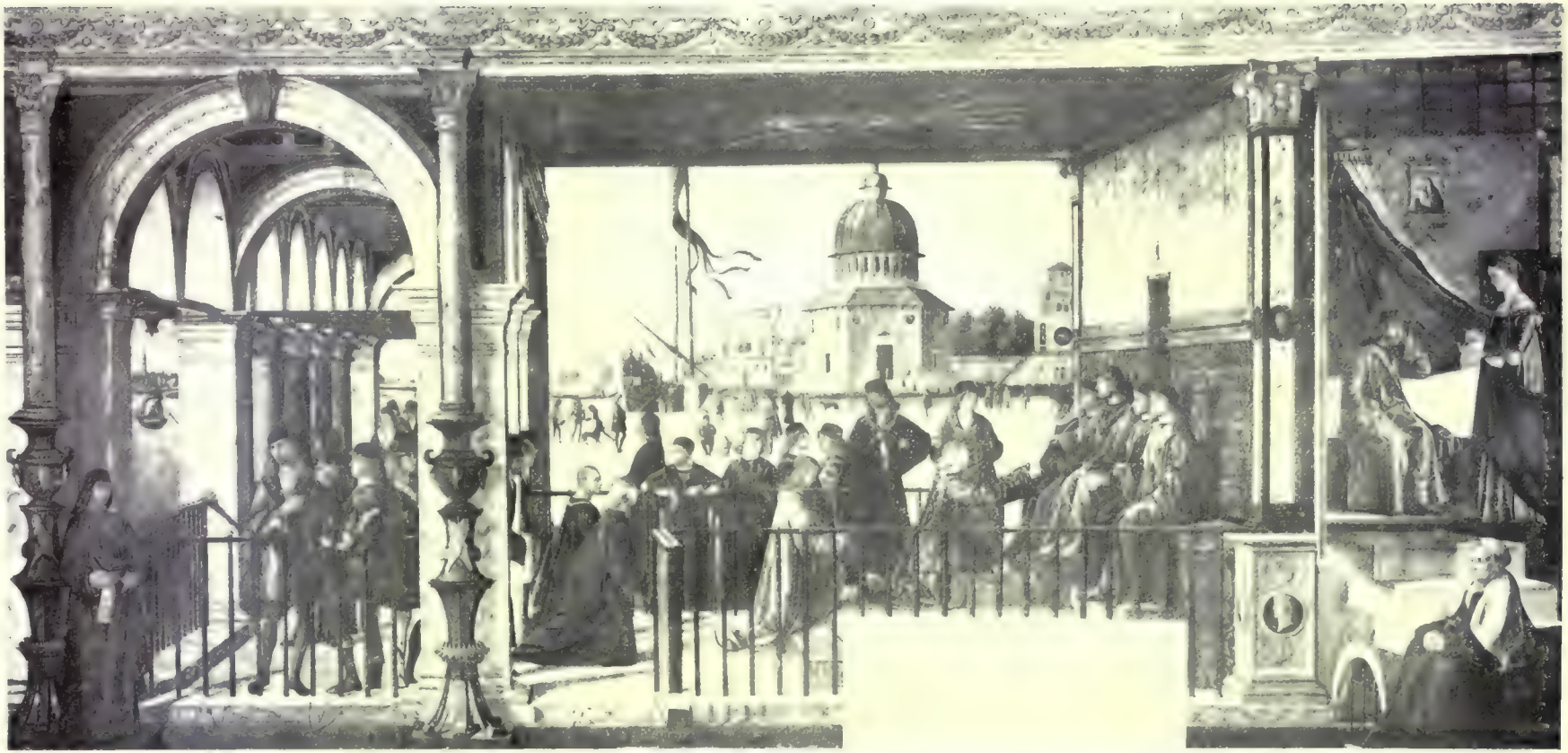
Thus the portraits of these two groups of benefactors stood facing one another.

We will now examine in greater detail the three first scenes which are so closely connected, and which offer a most accurate reproduction of the ceremonies, usages, and customs of the period.

The first scene, *The Arrival of the Ambassadors*, is divided into three compartments.[1] First of all to the left we see a graceful portico, conceived in the finest architectural style of the Venetian Renaissance. Through the arcades we perceive a gondola gliding over the water, and further off the City of Venice. No doubt is possible but that we are indeed in Venice, and that the fashionable cavaliers grouped under the portico are Venetians. Carpaccio portrays among them several members of the wealthy family of Loredan. Since this magnificent Work of Art was presented to the Scuola by them, it was meet and just that the painter at the commencement thereof should give them the place of honour. The Senator of noble aspect in the foreground, clad in scarlet robes, is Pietro Loredan (born 1456), and the handsome youth a little further back, behind the railing, attired in the splendid costume of the *Calza* and accompanied by his falconer, is Giorgio, a brother of Senator Pietro. Finally, beside the third column, and turned to us in profile, stands a man of somewhat undecided countenance and vacant look, staring straight in front of him, who wears two

[1] Venice Academy, No. 572 in the Catalogue. Canvas: 2 m. 78 cm. × 5 m. 88 cm. Underneath *Op. Victoris Carpatio Veneti.* The original dimensions were 2 m. 88 cm. × 6 m. 12 cm.

The Dismissal of the Ambassadors of the King of England
Venice Academy.



69 THE ARRIVAL OF THE AMBASSADORS.

70 PIETRO LOREDAN AND HIS BROTHERS.
Detail from "The Arrival of the Ambassadors."[1]

[1] *Il Martirio di S. Orsola e delle sue compagne, dipinto in nove quadri ecc. dedicato all' eccellentissimo sig. G. B. Giovanelli procurator di S. Marco, dal p. G. Toninotto domenicano.* Venezia, 1785. The new plates taken from Carpaccio's paintings are engraved by De Pian, Galimberti, and others.

71 PIETRO LOREDAN.

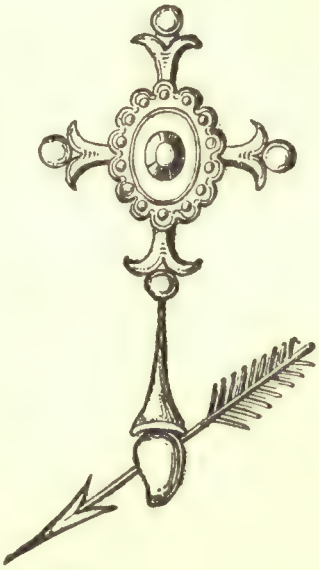
72 GIORGIO LOREDAN.

73 KING MAURUS AND HIS COUNSELLORS.
Detail from the First Picture by Carpaccio.

74 PORTRAIT OF GIOVANNI BELLINI.
In the Museum of the Capitol, Rome.

metal half-moons in his hair. We believe that we are not far wrong in supposing that in this figure we have the portrait of Loredan's third brother, who, as has been stated, was of feeble mind and had been confined in the convent at the Madonna dell' Orto.

In the second division the Ambassadors of the King of England are introduced into the presence of Maurus, King of Britain, whither they have come to ask the hand of the Princess Ursula for the son of their King. King Maurus on his throne is surrounded by his Councillors, who are seated beside him. The foremost of these, who wears Senator's robes and a Venetian cap, displays upon his arm an embroidered badge of a heart pierced by an arrow, signifying the "Love of God," an emblem which was also that of the Augustine friars. The expressive countenance of this personage strongly resembles a portrait signed "Giovanni Bellini," now in the Museum of the Capitol, in which, according to the most authoritative critics, we have the authentic portrait of that great artist. It may be that Carpaccio entertained the graceful idea of presenting several Venetian painters, his friends, among the royal advisers: and perhaps,—and the suggestion is not altogether devoid of foundation,—he has depicted his master Bastiani in the guise of the furthest figure of the group; one that we meet with again in a very beautiful drawing by our artist in the British Museum. The splendour of the period, shown in the appointments heavy with gems and precious stones, in the scintillating gold, and in the magnificence of Venetian pageantry, surrounds the monarch and his councillors with festive glamour. From the cut of the clothes to the colour of the material, and even the mode of wearing jewelled chains, not round the neck but after the manner of the scarf,—perhaps an indication of extreme refinement,—every detail is reproduced with minutest care and diligence. On the waters in the background lies a magnificent ship, a faithful copy of one of those vessels to which Venice owed her glory and wealth, and which served also for the reception of Ambassadors.



The painter has shown equal skill in seizing to the best advantage the space left between the door and the end wall, and in the third compartment of the picture he has represented King Maurus, seated beside a bed in a meditative attitude, considering

the proposal of marriage between his daughter and a Pagan Prince. S. Ursula stands before him and, moved by the hope of converting her suitor, she exhorts her father to agree, accompanying her arguments with so life-like an expression and so natural a motion of the hands that we cannot repress our admiration. These hands, so expressive and persuasive, so—might we not say—eloquent, at once recall the impression that Carpaccio had experienced the influence of the fresco in S. Margherita at Treviso, where in the identical scene the gestures of S. Ursula and of the Ambassadors are analogous; and Goethe's saying rises to our mind "that the men of the north speak only with their mouth, whilst the Italians have the whole body instinct with such vivacity that the hands themselves have the power of speech." This quality finds its highest and most exquisite expression in Leonardo's *Last Supper*: but already in their Histories of S. Ursula the fourteenth-century painter of the Trevisan frescoes and our artist alike show themselves to be true children of their race.

The empty space at the foot of the stairs is occupied by a wonderfully painted figure of an old woman wearing a white cloth over her shoulders, who may have suggested to Titian the female selling eggs in his *Presentation in the Temple*. This figure of Carpaccio's presents us with one of the most characteristic types of the Art of the fifteenth century. The painter has taken her from life and has given her immortality.

The reader will note that the picture which we reproduce does not correspond exactly with that exhibited in the Academy; for the engravings of de Pian have enabled us to reconstruct Carpaccio's work *as it originally was*. In the portico to the left of the spectator we have replaced the column and likewise restored the frieze effaced in the course of the repairs in 1647. This frieze ran along the upper portion of the scene and a few traces of the festoons are still visible to any one who examines the picture attentively. The same design reappears in the third scene, *The Return of the Ambassadors*. In this way we have remained faithful to Carpaccio's style without introducing any extraneous element. We also reproduce the picture with the cut, showing its original appearance. It is known that in 1504 an extension of the chapel was built out to contain the altar, and that the original choir floor was levelled with that of the nave, thus obviating the necessity for this cut; so that Carpaccio himself perhaps may have covered it with the coat of paint to be seen upon it to this day. The examination of these alterations carried out in the interior of the building assists our comprehension of the composition and the division of the painting into three parts. It is for this reason that we have been at such pains in our reconstruction of the ancient Scuola, for

otherwise the genius of the artist could neither be duly understood nor appreciated.

The second scene, which represents the King dismissing the English Ambassadors,[1] transports us into the splendid halls of the Ducal Palace. Ambassadors to Venice were usually conducted first into the Hall of the *Anticollegio*, where they waited seated upon benches covered with sumptuous draperies. At a given signal the doors were opened and the Ambassadors advanced, making three bows; one at the door itself, one half-way up the hall, and the third at the daïs. But Carpaccio has added to this ceremonial that of the Court of Rome; where instead of three bows three genuflections were made. A number of distinguished spectators usually followed the Ambassadors into the Hall of the *Collegio*.[2]

The Secretary of the *Collegio* then read aloud the Ambassadors' credentials. The Senate hardly ever replied by word of mouth, but generally in a letter dictated by the Grand Chancellor,[3] a masterpiece of ability, discretion, and eloquence. Thus King Maurus, after having consulted his daughter, consigns to the Ambassadors a letter, setting forth his conditions. The painting, which according to the artist's intention should follow the story exactly, shows us in the background a man writing at the dictation of another: a group that all connoisseurs are agreed is marvellous both for truth in expression and attitude, and for straightforward execution. The Venetian populace, in fact, have dubbed the entire scene, on account of this very characteristic group, the *Scribe* (*lo Scrivano*). The King, who presents a solemn and dignified appearance, is seated on his throne, and before him on the steps the Ambassadors kneel in the attitude of profound reverence usual to Carpaccio's figures.

This painting, like the last, has been restored by us to the effect it produced prior to the sacrilegious mutilations from which

[1] Venice Academy, No. 573. Canvas: 2 m. 79 cm. × 2 m. 53 cm. Signed: *Victoris Carpatio Veneti Opus.* Original dimensions: 2 m. 95 cm. × 2 m. 75 cm.

[2] These solemn receptions, wherein was displayed all the magnificence of Venice, made a great impression on strangers. In the seventeenth century the English Ambassador, Wotton, commissioned the artist Odoardo Fialetti to paint from life all the receptions in the Hall of the *Collegio*, and despatched the paintings to his sovereign, Charles I., who was perhaps the greatest art-lover and connoisseur of his time. The pictures are to be seen to this day in Hampton Court Palace: and we should add as a curious coincidence that Odoardo Fialetti was a member of the Scuola di Sant' Orsola.

[3] Just as the Doge was the head of the Nobles, so the Grand Chancellor was the first of the burgesses of quality, known as the "citizens" (*cittadini*). Elected for life by the Greater Council, he shared in all the privileges of the patricians, except that of voting. He wore purple and had under his control all the secretaries. Antonio Marsilio, the friend of the painter Vincenzo Catena, was Notary to the Chancery. Another friend and legatee of the same painter, the Humanist Giambattista Egnazio, a member of the Aldine Academy, was Latin Reader (*letterato di latino*) to the Chancery, with the duty of instructing the young secretaries in the elegancies of the Latin language.

it has suffered. To-day, in fact, a strip several centimetres wide on the left side, behind the throne, is now missing, whilst to the right, one jamb of the magnificent door and a portion of the ceiling have disappeared. But the task of reconstruction has here been easy, and includes also the stem of the chandelier and the three garlands suspended from as many fine discs. Thus restored the picture gains greatly in breadth and effect.

The seventeenth-century architect, who undertook to enlarge and give more light to the chapel, was confronted with a great difficulty in the case of the third painting.[1]

The seventeenth century truly had no scruple in tampering with the work of a painter, however great. Nevertheless, the architect was not sufficiently impious to dare to ruin entirely a a masterpiece. Now this scene, like the others, was too high, but it could not like them be cut on account of the irreparable damage that must be caused thereby to the many fine buildings shown in it. To obviate this difficulty the authorities resolved to lower the painting and to conceal the superfluous portion, a strip about 17 cm. deep, behind the back panels of the benches. Thus the label with Carpaccio's name upon it was covered over, and another inscription was substituted higher up which was removed when the paintings were restored.[2] Thanks to such a concatenation of circumstances this composition is the only one of the series which has come down to us uninjured, and it is also one of the most beautiful.

The scene takes us back into the open air. The Ambassadors have returned to England, but, according to Carpaccio, we are still in Venice:—the Venice of majestic edifices, noble porticoes, magnificent halls, and all that incomparable architecture, which recalls to our minds the *Porta della Carta* and the *Scala dei Giganti*, the churches of S. Zaccaria and dei Miracoli, and the hundred other monuments that arose in the fifteenth century, as if by enchantment, upon the Lagoons. On the façade of the splendid palace, which occupies the background and somewhat resembles the Doge's Palace, we perceive two sculptured bas-reliefs; one of which represents, in purest Renaissance style, Vulcan contriving a pair of wings for a small Cupid, who is watching the work with great attention. This composition is but a reduced copy of a tablet preserved in the Archæological Museum of the Ducal Palace. We have failed however to trace the original idea of the second bas-relief, which shows us a king, a herald with a *caduceus*, and a

[1] Venice Academy, No. 574. Canvas, 2 m. 95 cm. × 5 m. 27 cm. Signed *Victoris Carpatio Veneti Opus.*

[2] In the seventeenth century one might still read "Res^{t} T^{re}. | Pi T^{o}. | MDCXXIII." Onorio Arrigoni, *Lapidi sepolcrali di SS. Giovanni e Paulo.* MS. at the Museo Civico. Cf. also Moschini, *Guida di Venezia*, ii, p. 493.

75 DRAWING FOR THE HEAD OF ONE OF THE COUNSELLORS.
British Museum.

THE RETURN OF THE AMBASSADORS.

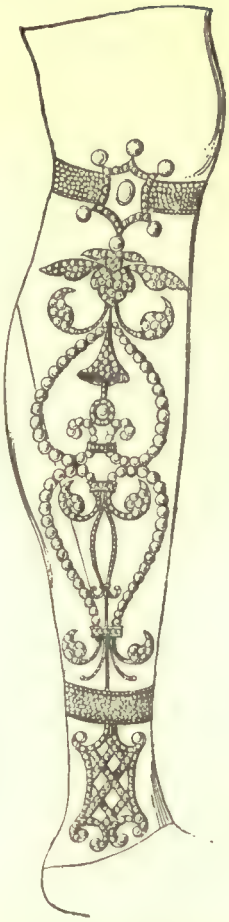
77 Bronze Bas-relief in the Archæological Museum at the Ducal Palace, Venice.

78 The Steward (Lo Scalco).
Detail from "The Arrival of the Ambassadors."

warrior with a trophy; but public and private collections alike contain many antique tablets representing similar scenes of victory.

The English King is seen enthroned and surrounded by councillors beneath a wondrous erection of arches and columns. One of the Ambassadors has handed the letter to the Secretary, who reads it to the King. On the steps of the throne a lively monkey is cracking a nut, whilst a guinea-fowl struts forward to take her share. It is in Venetian painting alone that we find the guinea-fowl so often introduced into the legends of the Saints.

The festive scene presents a stirring and busy aspect. From the towers banners flutter, as formerly they did from the Campanile of S. Mark's upon days of high solemnity. One of the Ambassadors has approached the King: another, who wears magnificent gala hose, is welcomed by two gentlemen. Beside the wharf is seated the Steward (*lo Scalco*) holding a gold-tipped rod, such as is recorded in Grevembroch's *MS. Gli habiti Veneziani* preserved in the Museo Civico at Venice. The Steward, accompanied by musicians, used to invite Ambassadors to the Doge's State Banquets.



A Gala Stocking of a Compagnia della Calza.

Gala Sleeve of a Compagnia della Calza.

In these paintings pomp and circumstance reign supreme, especially in the figures of the Cavaliers of the *Calza*. This Company was originally an association of gentlemen, banded together with the object of organizing festivities of all kinds. Membership was not restricted to Venetians, for foreigners were also admitted, and even ladies, who were styled "companions" (*compagne*), and wore the badge of the "Company" upon their sleeve. The Company was later on sub-divided into groups each under its own head and distinguished by some particular name, such as *Immortali*, *Semprevivi*, *Perpetui*, *Eterni*, *Pavoni*, *Ortolani*, *Giardinieri*, *Felici*, etc.

In Carpaccio's paintings the Companions of the *Calza*, the arbiters of Venetian fashion, wore doublets of gold-embroidered velvet and silk, drawn into the figure by a girdle. Their sleeves

were slashed and fastened with points to show the full shirt underneath. The upper part of their close-fitting hose was striped in many colours, and their shoes were pierced in quaint devices. The Companions of the *Calza* wore besides over their shoulders a short cloak and a hood of cloth of gold or damask, embroidered on the back with the particular emblem of their Company. These badges were usually richly worked in pearls, as we may notice in this third scene upon the person of the Ambassador. Likewise in the first scene, *The English Ambassadors before King Maurus*, we may observe near the King's throne a cavalier wearing a badge upon his sleeve, of which emblem we give here a separate illustration. What does this ornament signify? To which of the *Calza* Companies does it belong? It represents an interlaced hurdle of osiers. Now the science of Heraldry and a comparison with other symbolical pictures show us that these hurdles signify a "garden." Thus in

St. Catherine of Siena in the Garden.

The Coat of Arms of the Counts Orti of Verona.

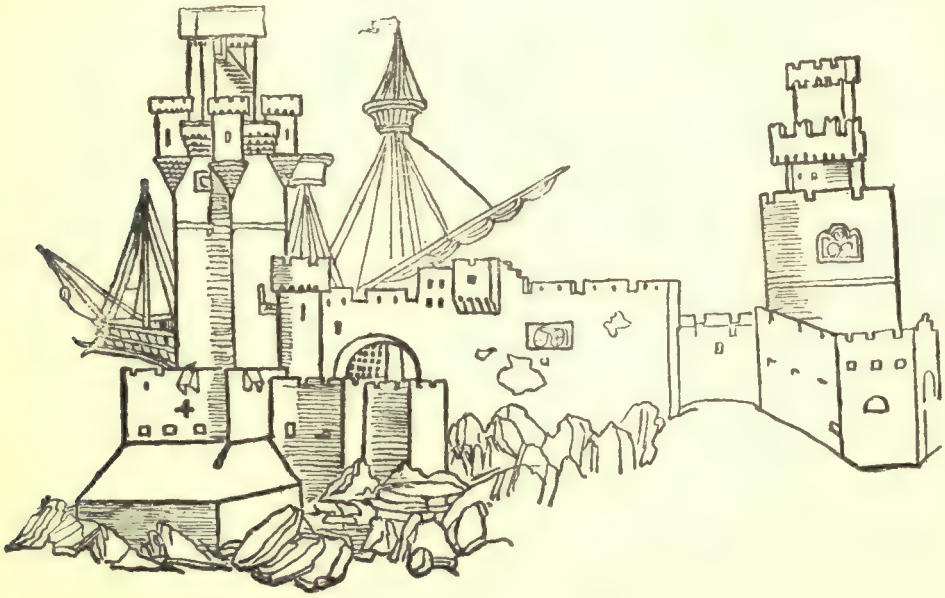
Giovanni Boccatis' picture at Perugia of *Christ in the Garden of Olives* the garden is represented by a thick hurdle of osiers; and a similar hurdle with the same signification recurs in a miniature quoted by Silvestre, and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, wherein S. Catherine of Siena receives the Stigmata in a garden. But this is not all. In the library at Bergamo, in a book of patterns for embroideries dating from the end of the fourteenth century, is to be found among other designs a swan in a garden; and the garden consists of a species of crate or basket of osiers. A similar hedge also indicates a garden, with a white stag in the middle, in the escutcheon of King Richard II. of England, sculptured upon the tomb of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. This tomb in Carpaccio's time stood in the forecourt of S. Mark's. It was removed to England, and in a very ruinous state is now in the possession of the Duke's descendants. The emblem however in Carpaccio's painting exhibits greater similarity

79 Badge of the Company of the Calza called "Degli Ortolani."

Design for Embroidery.

with the "canting" (*parlante*) coat-of-arms belonging to the Veronese family of *Orti*. We may conclude therefore that the badge worked upon the Cavalier's sleeve was that of the Company of the *Ortolani*. This theory finds confirmation in the analogy of this costume with the description in a document of Cicogna's in the Museo Civico, whence we learn that the Company of the *Ortolani* did not, like the other Companies, wear parti-coloured hose, but carried their badge embroidered upon one of their sleeves.[1]

The fourth scene, which now occupies our attention, *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair*,[2] covered the entire West Wall, in which was situated the door of entry to the Oratory.



THE FRENCH TOWER AT RHODES.

From a wood-engraving by Reuvich.

A tall banner separates the composition into two unequal portions, a division entailed upon Carpaccio by the position of

[1] These badges had great importance in the History of Costume, especially in mediæval times. For jousts and tournaments cavaliers vied with one another in the invention of the most beautiful or original emblems. They sought advice from the men most learned and competent in the matter, and an entire literature on the subject came into being, lasting to the end of the eighteenth century. It will suffice to record among the most important works Torquato Tasso's *Dialogue of Devices* (*Dialogo delle imprese*). Monsignor Giulio Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, in his *Dialogue on Military Devices* (*Dialogo delle imprese militari*) devised as an emblem for a Genoese patrician, Girolamo Andorno, *Jove's Thunder-bolt* copied from an antique medallion, with the motto: "He will expiate or overwhelm" (*Expiabit aut obruet*). This badge, much lauded by Andrea Navagero, was designed and coloured by Titian, and magnificently embroidered by the able Venetian, Agnolo di Madonna.

[2] Venice Academy, No. 575. Canvas: 2 m. 75 cm. × 6 m. 11 cm. Signed: *Victoris Carpatio Veneti opus MCCCCLXXXXV.* Original dimensions: 2 m. 95 cm. × 6 m. 11 cm.

the chapel entrance. The door opened at the end next to the North Wall so as to allow sufficient space for the *banco della Scuola* to be placed alongside to the right. The smaller division of the composition therefore hung above the door, and the larger above the "bench."

The scene to the spectator's left represents a noble landscape with hills crowned by many towers. We have said that a pen-and-ink sketch of this landscape is preserved in the British Museum, which enabled Mr. Sidney Colvin to demonstrate the extent of Carpaccio's borrowings from the designs of Reuvich.[1] In this drawing, erroneously designated as *The Harbour of Ancona*, and in the S. Ursula painting, we can easily perceive how the larger and more massive tower and the other lesser one in the middle distance are both copied from Reuvich's views of the *Towers of Rhodes* and *Candia* respectively. Similarly the slender white tower surmounted by a cupola among the trees at the foot of the hill in the picture was copied from a sketch by Reuvich representing *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.*

In a creek at the foot of the next hill we observe, lying half out of the water, her stern dismantled and heeling over towards the bank, a great ship, apparently under repair, since around the hull caulkers may be seen at work. Perhaps in representing this episode the painter desired to evoke memories of his own family.

In a street hard by a group of persons are playing on various musical instruments. A pen-and-ink sketch of this group is preserved in the Duke of Devonshire's Collection at Chatsworth.

To the left we observe a considerable group of spectators, members probably of the Scuola di S. Orsola. Next comes the King attended by his major-domo with a purse suspended from his girdle : and kneeling before his father we see S. Ursula's Betrothed, Prince Hereus, with his companions. The last of these, an elderly man, is impersonated by an austere figure holding a fragment of a scroll in his hand. Carpaccio probably intended to inscribe the dedication of the painting upon this lightly-sketched-in fragment, but changed his mind and placed the inscription in the hands of the youth seated near by under the great standard. From this hitherto unobserved detail we may recognize in this standing figure the old Venetian patrician, Nicolò Loredan, surnamed *Tartaglia.* Nicolò, who was born in 1433, was sixty-two years of age when Carpaccio painted this picture.

The handsome youth, who bears the label with the inscription, is clad with the most exquisite elegance in a richly embroidered doublet and a pair of self-coloured hose. On the label may be

[1] Cf. pp. 38-40 of this book.

The Departure of the Betrothed Pair.

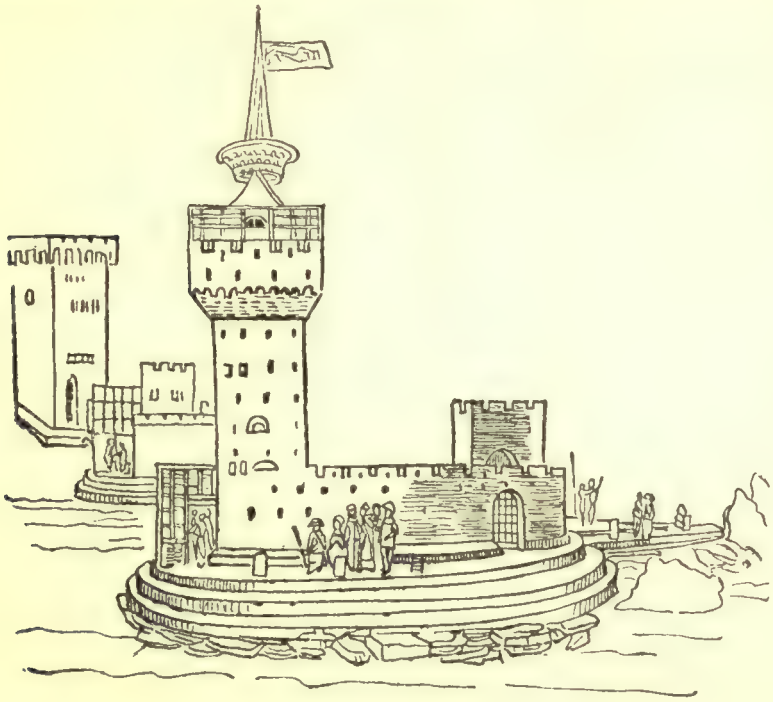
82 SKETCH BY VITTORE CARPACCIO FOR "THE DEPARTURE OF THE BETROTHED." British Museum.

83 Nicolò Loredan, surnamed Tartaglia.

84 Antonio Loredan, Son of Nicolò.

read the letters N.L.D.D.W.G.V.I. These letters, according to the rule which governs abbreviations, should signify *Nicolaus Lauretanus donum dedit ViVens gloria Virgini Inclytae.* Numerous examples show two V's together, signifying *Vivens*, but of a W with this meaning we know of one other instance only: in the church of the Servites: it is published in Cicogna's *Iscrizioni.*

This youth is probably a portrait of Antonio Loredan, Nicolò's eldest son, who at the time was seventeen years of age. The magnificence of his dress and the emblem embroidered in gold,

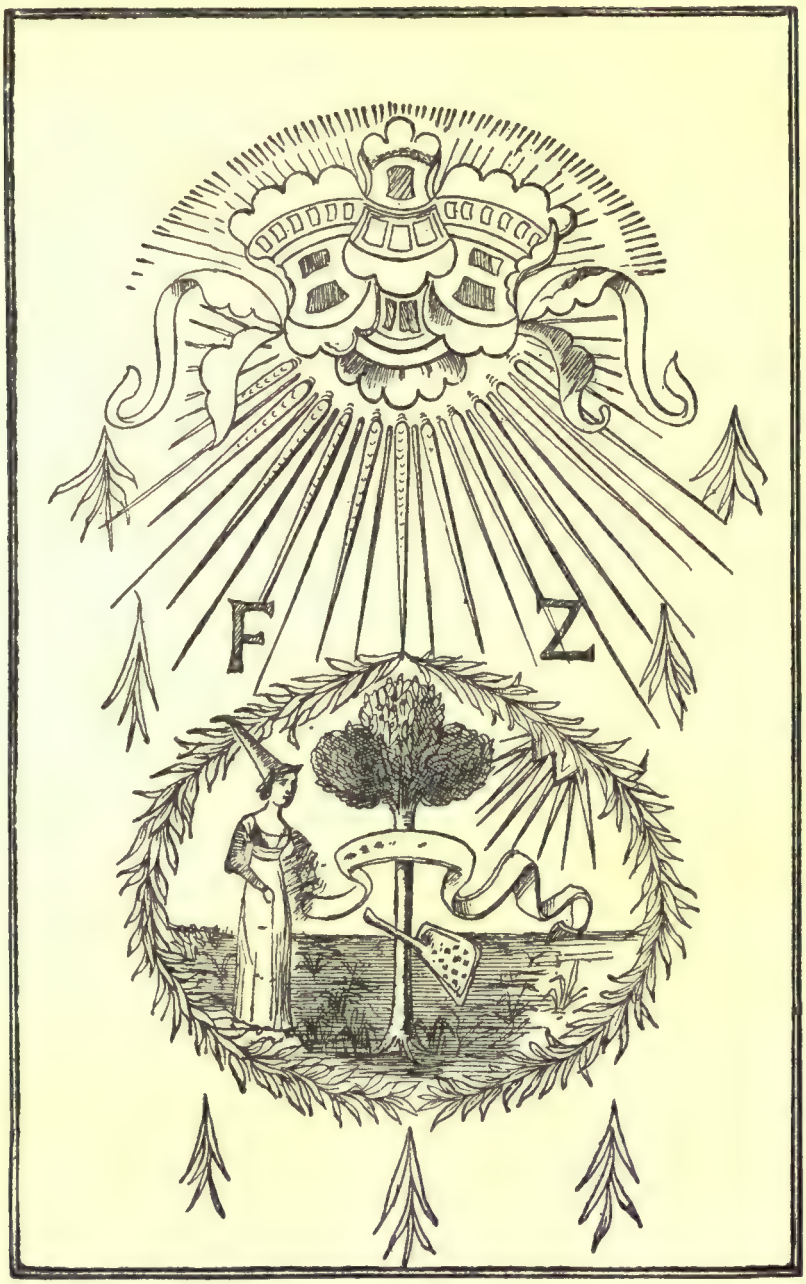


THE TOWER OF CAUDIA.

From a wood-engraving by Reuvich.

silver, and pearls on his left sleeve, mark him as a member of one of the Companies of the *Calza.* The badge represents the Sun's rays illuminating an oval formed by laurel branches, inside which stands a damsel, attired Burgundian fashion with a tall conical coif, beside a tree to which are attached a hoe and a ribbon with an inscription illegible on account of the minuteness of its lettering. Taking together these several elements,—the tree, the hoe, and the female figure,—we may confidently assert that the device is that of the *Zardinieri* (*Gardeners*). Another of the Companies of the *Calza*, the *Reali*, bear as their device a cypress tree surmounted by a scroll, with the words: *Cosi schietto al cielo s'erga il degno nome*: (Thus upright before Heaven shall the worthy

name be reared), a device which we reproduce here from Cicogna. A tree is of very frequent occurrence in Italian heraldry. Among the Venetian escutcheons that of the Freschi family is an example,



THE EMBLEM OF THE "COMPAGNIA DELLA CALZA" OF THE "ZARDINIERI."

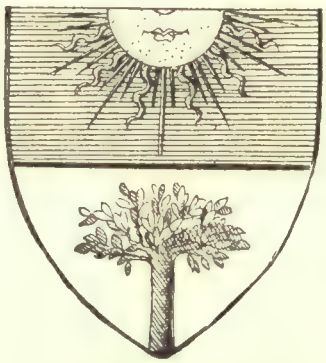
doubtless a *canting* achievement denoting *freschezza* = green-ness, or the country-side, whence the family derived its origin.

Allegorical representation had attained so much importance in

the Middle Ages that we may well pause over points which to-day might easily escape our notice, but which once upon a time bore an eloquent significance. Thus advisedly no doubt Carpaccio introduces the figure of a scorpion into this scene. This creature had in fact for mediæval minds a special meaning,[1] connoting in astrological language the Nightly House (*casa notturna*) of Mars, possessed of a malign influence and implying unsuccessful Love, evil thoughts, violence, injustice, conflagrations, asphyxia, hidden crimes, and also disastrous journeys. In Carpaccio's painting therefore the scorpion appears as a mysterious presage of evil omen.

The standard, which divides the painting into two parts, bears upon a shield, party per fesse gules and argent, a lion of the same with three stars, two and one. This coat of arms does not belong to any of the nobility or citizens either of Venice or of the main-

EMBLEM OF THE CAMPAGNIA DELLA CALZA "DEI REALI."



THE COAT OF ARMS OF THE FRESETI FAMILY.

land. We find them instead in Galvani's work on the "Arms of the City of Sebenico" (*Armi della Città di Sebenico*); but Galvani

[1] On the capital of the corner column of the Doges' Palace is sculptured a scorpion exactly like that in Carpaccio's painting. It is well known that the capitals of the columns of the Ducal Palace have always stimulated the curiosity of the iconographers, and how the sculptures altogether form a species of mediæval encyclopædia (Didron et Burges, *Iconographie du Palais Ducal, Annales Archéol.* 1857). Here are represented the Vices and the Virtues, the principal nations of the world, the most famous kings, the most remarkable animals, the greatest artists, etc. The bas-reliefs of the corner pillars especially have afforded much scope for study, and are interpreted in several different ways. Mr. Ruskin for example would discover therein the horoscope of the Palace at the time of its foundation. The inscriptions show that the figures sculptured on the side of the capital facing towards the Piazzetta represent *The Eternal Father creating Man.* On the other sides are sculptured the seven planets. Thus the capital constitutes a small archæological compendium, describing *The Creation of Man* and his *Destiny* subjected to the course of the stars. The planets are seen under the guise of human beings, each of whom is seated upon one of the animals of the Zodiac and has beside him another Zodiacal symbol. The animal represents the stronger astral influence, the "Daily House" (*casa diurna*): the other symbol the weaker influence, the "Nightly House" (*casa notturna*). Now Carpaccio, like all his contemporaries, placed faith in Astrology and saw in the Signs of the Zodiac the presage of good or evil fortune. In painting a scorpion in his picture he obeyed the same idea which inspired the sculptor to represent upon the capital of the Ducal Palace *Mars* seated upon a ram with a scorpion beside him.

does not say to what family it belongs. We are therefore unable to found any conjecture upon the heraldic significance of this shield.

To the right of the spectator the windows of the houses, the streets, and the staircases, are alive with a crowd of magnificently garbed persons in endless variety of colour. The entire Court take part in speeding the Betrothed Pair, who kneel before King Maurus, whilst the Queen-mother dries her tears. This scene is repeated by Carpaccio, with some variants, in a small painting in the Layard Gallery in Venice: and a pen-and-ink sketch of the same is preserved in the Duke of Devonshire's Collection at Chatsworth.

Let us examine now the paintings which follow on the South Wall. The fifth and sixth scenes: *S. Ursula's Dream* and *The Arrival in Rome* respectively originally formed one large single painting, divided into two halves by a strip of gilding. But when the Oratory was enlarged this diptych was cut in half, and the two pictures which resulted were separated by a pilaster.

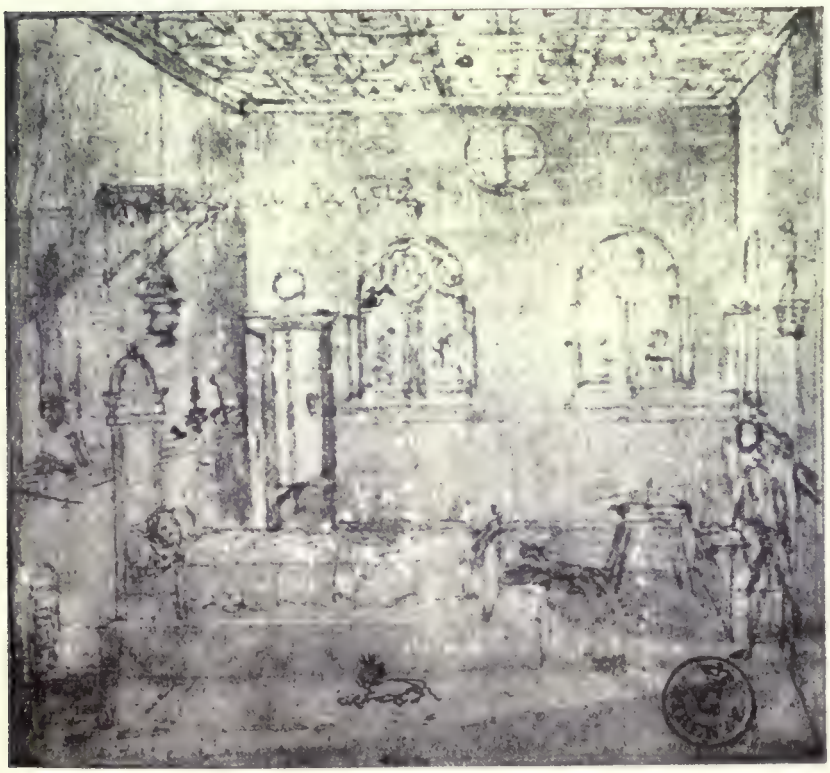
S. Ursula's Dream[1] introduces us to Venetian family life in the fourteenth century in a scene of tranquil domestic charm. Mr. Ruskin, enamoured of the naïve beauty of that age which precedes the splendour and pomp of the sixteenth century, devotes several noteworthy passages to this painting of Carpaccio's in his collection of Essays, entitled *Fors Clavigera*.[2] It is one of those somewhat bizarre fancies, teeming with interest, in which the English writer took such delight. According to Mr. Ruskin our painter would desire to signify the dawn of the Saint's life by the morning light which floods the chamber, penetrating softly the beautiful windows, through which we perceive the limpid azure that is stealing over the sky. Two plants to which Ruskin has given no name are growing in majolica vases in the room: a myrtle and a carnation. Myrtle was dear to betrothed lovers for its use in the composition of the nuptial chaplet, and the carnation which so often appears in portraits during the Middle Ages signifies in the language of flowers "I love thee" (*ti voglio bene*). The two vases are set upon a broad ledge or shelf, the *scansia* so frequently met with in Venetian dwellings, which is carried along the entire wall of S. Ursula's chamber. A finely formed elbow-chair stands near the bed, and further away in the corner upon a small table are an open book and an hour-glass. Against the wall a small cupboard contains more books, and before the picture of a female saint projects a bracket-candlestick. Suspended from the candle-

[1] Venice Academy, No. 578. Canvas: 2 m. 75 cm. × 2 m. 66 cm. Signed: *Vict. Carp.* F. 1495. Original dimensions: 2 m. 95 cm. × 2 m. 89 cm.

[2] Vol. i., p. 395.

85 Sketch by Vittore Carpaccio for "The Departure of the Betrothed."
In the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire.

86 A Medal struck to commemorate the Restoration
of the Castel Sant' Angelo, Rome.



87 Sketch by Vittore Carpaccio for "The Dream of St. Ursula."
In the Uffizi, Florence.

stick is a bronze vessel which Mr. Ruskin calls a censer, but which is actually a holy-water stoup.

The Saint's couch is adorned with fine gilded carving, inlaid work, and brilliantly coloured stuffs. On the step lies a crown, at the foot is a little white dog, and beside the bed we notice a pair of blue slippers. S. Ursula is reclining at full length. Her hair is gracefully arranged in two plaits, which form a double crown. The candour of innocence illumines her brow: with her cheek resting upon her right hand the maiden seems to be continuing her devout meditation even in her sleep. At the door enters the angel, palm and scroll in hand; an angel of such tiny stature as scarcely to reach up to the Princess's chin. The slashed sleeves, showing the shirt beneath, stamp the angel's garb with a touch of Venetian fashion.

Mr. Ruskin has not noticed that on one of the tassels of the pillow beneath the Saint's head is written the word *Infantia*. The other tassel, upon which some other word was certainly inscribed, was cut off in 1810, when the paintings underwent a fresh reduction before being exhibited in the Academy. This painting not only lost several centimetres at the top like the rest, but in 1810 suffered twofold mutilation, by the removal of a portion of the bed and of a jamb of the door.

The Collection of Drawings in the Uffizi includes a sketch for this idyllic scene with certain variants of secondary importance.

The painter has here identified himself with the Legend wherein S. Ursula whilst at Cologne had the vision which commanded her to go to Rome. The scene told its own story as long as the two paintings formed a diptych; but divided by a pilaster and transposed as they now are, they appear to represent two seemingly unconnected events. Ridolfi therefore inverted the sequence of the scenes, and looked upon *S. Ursula's Dream* as the announcement of her Martyrdom; whereas for us, and according to the Legend, the Dream was the command to go to Rome, an act which we see accomplished in the subsequent scene. The painting which represents the Castel Sant' Angelo[1] is so closely connected with the composition of the fourth subject, *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair*, as to convince us of the accuracy of our proposed arrangement of the Cycle. The castellated background in *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair* led the eye step by step to the huge tower of Castel Sant' Angelo.

This citadel had a short time before been restored and rebuilt by Alexander VI., and in 1495 a medal was struck to commemorate the completion of the work, with the Pope's effigy on the obverse,

[1] Venice Academy. No. 577. Canvas: 2 m. 78 cm. × 3 m. ·07 cm. Signed: *Victoris Carpatio Veneti opus.* Original dimensions: 2 m. 95 cm. × 3 m. ·07 cm.

and on the reverse a view of the castle as it appeared after the rebuilding. In this medal the Emperor Hadrian's Mausoleum is surmounted by an angel, and to make our reconstruction conform with the original painting we have restored the angel to its position on the top of the tower, where it certainly stood prior to the mutilation of 1547.[1] We cannot believe that Carpaccio would have painted Castel Sant' Angelo *minus* the Angel.

The scene as a whole is inspired by the recollection of the pageantry which heralded the Doge's State Entry; the ceremonial is identical. We see before us the twelve *Comandadori* in blue mantles, with their standards and a following of trumpeters and other musicians. Carpaccio had already substituted the new-fashioned and shorter instruments for the long trumpets,—so long as to be carried on boys' shoulders,—in use under the Doge Foscari.

The Pope stands under a State canopy, like that which Pope Alexander III. granted to the Doge Ziani; save that, whilst the Ducal baldachino was surmounted by an image of *The Annunciation*, the Papal canopy painted by Carpaccio bears a "Pelican" on the top. A multitude of bishops and prelates in copes and mitres attend the Pope, before whom the Betrothed Pair are kneeling bareheaded. The procession of virgins, likewise kneeling, stretches away into the background. One of their number bears aloft a white pennant. We observe that hitherto, up to the commencement of the Martyrdom, the flags and pennants are coloured red.

In accordance with his usual custom of interweaving legendary poetry with the record of Venetian customs and daily life, Carpaccio must have necessarily introduced here also the portraits of contemporary personages. This painting cannot fail therefore to supply us with valuable knowledge concerning the Venetian colony then in Rome.

Alexander VI. (Borgia) may easily be recognized in the figure of the Pope. This is sufficiently borne out by a comparison

[1] Regarding this plain statement, that the Pope caused a medal to be struck and that Carpaccio portraying Castel Sant' Angelo must in all reason have placed on its summit the traditional angel, Prof. Laudedeo Testi pours forth in many pages his truly profound and uncontested erudition. From sundry details and scraps of information it is also recorded that in 1497 the angel was destroyed by a thunder-bolt, and Prof. Testi arrives at the conclusion that Carpaccio must have copied the Castello from life, or from the drawings of Giuliano da S. Gallo, that his painting was executed before the restorations, and that therefore the angel, which had been removed, should not be there. We beg leave for the third time to state how improbable it is that Carpaccio would have painted Castel Sant' Angelo without the angel, which was only absent for a short time. Carpaccio took the general lines of his composition from various drawings, since he introduces divers fanciful elements, such as the column with a Roman Emperor on the top, which certainly never stood upon the walls of the Castello.

The horses of the porch of S. Mark were, it is well known, in Paris from 1787 to 1815; but if in those years a painter had represented an event in the history of the ancient Republic on the Piazza S. Marco, we do not believe that he would have omitted the four horses from the façade of the Basilica.

88 S. Ursula's Dream.

89 S. Ursula's Arrival in Rome.

90 Pope Alexander VI. (Medal of 1495).

91 Pope Alexander VI.
Detail by Carpaccio.

92 Portrait of Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia). Detail from the Fresco in the Vatican. By Pintoricchio.

with Pinturicchio's portrait of Alexander in the Vatican; though doubtless the prominent and coarse features of the countenance so forcibly presented by the Umbrian painter have, under Carpaccio's brush, gained in distinction and disappear almost beneath a mask of ascetic reserve. The portrait, however, resembles even more closely yet the effigy of Alexander on the commemorative medal of 1495. Nor should we omit to record,—in this connection,—that Pope Alexander VI. was the Pontiff who in 1502 issued a Brief to the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, permitting them to initiate proceedings against the Scuola di S. Orsola.

Let us now see if we can identify any of the Venetians who then figured at the Court of the Borgia, and who Carpaccio may have portrayed in this scene. The records of two Venetian Cardinals, Pietro Bembo and Angelo Maria Quirini, the *Diaries* of Sanudo, and Malipiero's *Annals* will materially assist us in this search. The senior of the Venetian Cardinals at that time was Giovanni Michiel, concerning whom we find valuable information in the work of Quirini, *Tiara et purpurea Veneta.* This Michiel, a man of wealth, of high degree and laden with honours, fell a victim to the jealousy of Cæsar Borgia, who shut him up in the Castel Sant' Angelo, and caused him to be poisoned there on April 10th, 1503. Another Venetian Cardinal, Ermolao Barbaro, had been sent to Rome as Ambassador to Pope Innocent VIII., who appointed him Patriarch of Aquileia. Barbaro accepted this nomination despite the prohibition by the Laws of the Republic, which forbade Ambassadors receiving titles or gifts from foreign governments. The Senate, indignant at this breach of the Law, caused the Council of Ten to inform Barbaro that he must resign the Patriarchate instantly, under pain of his father's exclusion from all offices of State and the confiscation of his property. The Cardinal's father died of grief at this unexpected blow, and Barbaro himself did not survive him long, dying in Rome in 1504, after having published a *Commentary on Pliny.* It would be useless therefore to look for Michiel or Barbaro among the cardinals near the Pope. But the cardinal whom we see over against the Pontiff might well be Domenico Grimani, since his very characteristic cast of features corresponds with the type handed down to us on his medals. He had received his hat early in life at the same Consistory as Cæsar Borgia; and not without suspicion of bribery either, if we are to believe Malipiero, who in his *Annals* informs us ingenuously that his cardinal's hat cost him 2,500 ducats. On September 5th, 1497 the Republic nominated him Patriarch of Aquileia, and on the 12th of the same month this nomination was confirmed by the Pope, who openly evinced his satisfaction thereat. And not less pleased, according to Sanudo, was the Duke Valentino,

who publicly threw himself at the feet of Alexander VI. to thank him for the honour that he had conferred upon the Venetian cardinal. Grimani, in fact, had become the hero of the day, and when he went forth from the Vatican, accompanied by the Ambassador Michiel, he was attended by the whole Papal Court of cardinals and prelates.

Among the Papal suite we notice the figure of a layman of astute countenance, gorgeously clad in a gown of cloth of gold and a wide mantle, such as was only worn on State occasions. We may reasonably suppose him to be the Venetian Ambassador to the Holy See.

When in 1492 Alexander VI. was raised to the Papal chair the Republic of Venice sent to Rome Paolo Barbo, Cristoforo Duodo, Marino Leoni, and Sebastiano Badoer; and this last-named personage had the duty of delivering an Address of felicitation to the Pope. At the time, however, when Domenico Grimani was created Patriarch of Aquileia the ordinary Ambassador was Nicolò Michiel; and, since in his painting Carpaccio places Cardinal Grimani and the Venetian Ambassador in the foreground, we may assume that in the Ambassador he desired to portray Nicolò Michiel.

It is certain that Grimani and Michiel both found themselves face to face with one another, not only in Carpaccio's painting but in real life. For having given battle to the Turks without permission, and having been defeated, Cardinal Grimani's father, Antonio Grimani, was deprived of his post of Governor and exiled. And the man who bestirred himself the most to ruin the elder Grimani was Nicolò Michiel, who had returned from Rome and who was nominated in reward a Procurator of S. Mark. Cardinal Grimani left Rome in haste, and hurried to Venice to beg for mercy for his father. But all efforts were vain; and a number of years elapsed before Grimani obtained his pardon and rehabilitation.

In Carpaccio's painting Michiel turns with crafty look towards a figure garbed in the purple robes of a prelate of the Papal Court, as though drawing attention with a somewhat contemptuous gesture of the hand to the Papal procession. Can we identify this man, who stands in humble attitude in the right-hand corner of the foreground? Doubtless he too is a Venetian.

Among the Venetian prelates in Rome at that time the foremost both for rank and intelligence was, according to contemporary testimony, Francesco Arzentin. Born in Venice of a German father and a Venetian mother, he had from early youth shown an intelligence so ready and acute that the Senator Giovanni Mocenigo, prior to becoming Doge in 1475, had made him his secretary. Later on Arzentin, who meanwhile had taken orders, obtained the

93 Cardinal Domenico Grimani.
Detail by Carpaccio.

94 Cardinal Domenico Grimani.
By V. Gambello.

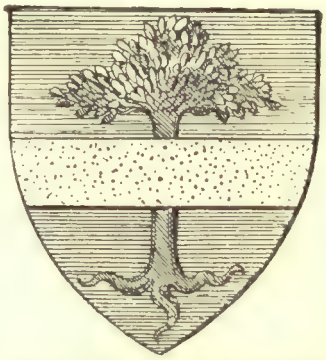
95 Cardinal Domenico Grimani (Later in Life).
By V. Gambello.

96 THE AMBASSADOR NICOLÒ MICHIEL.

97 FRANCESCO ARGENTIN.

Bishopric of Concordia and went to Rome, where he soon joined the following of Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici who, with his colleague Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, was one of the leaders of a party bitterly opposed to Pope Alexander VI.

Ughelli, in his *Italia Sacra*, illustrates the arms of Arzentin: on a plain field a fesse. In the MS. treatise on "Crests" (*dei Cimieri*) in the Museo Civico in Venice[1] the field is azure and the fesse gules: an order contrary to all rules of Heraldry, which forbid colour on colour: the fesse should, if not *or*, be *argent*. According to the same MS. the fesse crosses a tree (an oak), which was added to Arzentin's coat of arms by Pope Julius II., in testimony of good-will towards his faithful partisan. The oak and the fesse are to be seen on the splendid tomb of Arzentin in the Cathedral at Concordia. But how shall we account for the repetition of the Arzentin escutcheon on the twelve Papal banners? Were the suggestion not too far-fetched it might seem as if Carpaccio wished to give utterance to a happy augury for Arzentin, inasmuch as any Venetian would rejoice at seeing one of his fellow-citizens raised to the Papal Chair in the place of Pope Borgia, so little beloved and even less revered. But the hopes of the Venetians were doomed to disappointment, for Arzentin died shortly afterwards, barely in possession of his cardinal's hat.



THE COAT OF ARMS OF FRANCESCO ARZENTIN, ARCHBISHOP OF CONCORDIA.

Let us now, in company with our painter, follow this charming Legend to its conclusion. The Saint has left Rome with her Betrothed, who together with all his comrades has been baptized by the Pope. The Pope himself, warned in a dream, has accompanied the Saint to Cologne, and the seventh[2] scene represents *The Second Arrival* at the Rhenish city during the siege by the Huns.

In the small painting by Hans Memling of this same subject we may see an exact representation of Cologne with its towers, evidently drawn from nature. Carpaccio, on the other hand, having never been in Germany, paints a city of fancy, deriving his ideas once more it would seem from Breydenbach's book. That long-drawn-out wall, broken from time to time by towers, defended almost all the maritime cities of mediæval Greece. In the back-

[1] Cod. Cicogna, MMDCLXXIII—3627.

[2] Venice Academy, No. 579. Canvas: 2 m. 77 cm. × 2 m. 55 cm. Signed: *Op. Victoris Carpatio MCCCCLXXXX M. Septembris.* Original dimensions: 2 m. 95 cm. × 2 m. 63 cm.

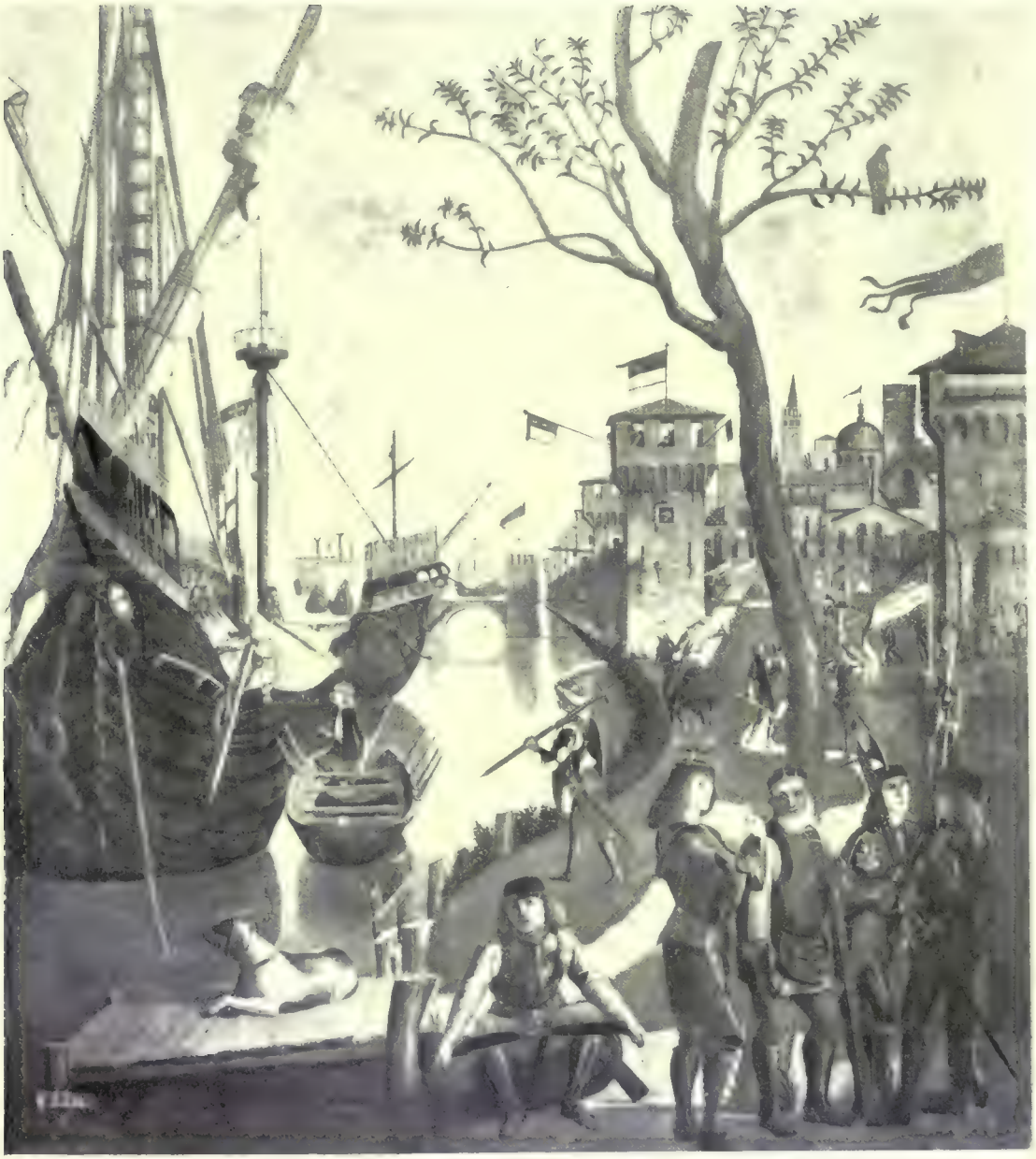
ground of the picture we see a gate-house, raised upon arches, with a drawbridge. Two great ships lie at anchor in the water. The foremost vessel, heavily rigged, with massive prow and ponderous beam, shows us on board the Pope, the bishops, and the virgins, all eager to descend into a boat, in which a diminutive rower stands upright. The other ship lies further back, and we observe its richly decorated poop. It is of that artistic and picturesque form which distinguished the Venetian galleys of that day from those of all other maritime States.

In the right-hand corner of the picture, under a tree, stand a group of Hun warriors. One of them, a white-bearded figure wearing a crown, doubtless represents their king. Standing by his side is a youth reading a letter, who wears a cap upon his thick hair, which is dressed in Venetian fashion.

This, the seventh scene, is manifestly the least successful of the entire Cycle, and the awkward and ill-drawn figures attest the inexperience of the young painter, who commenced his illustration of the *S. Ursula Legend* with this composition. The large tree in the foreground is certainly not drawn from nature, but was imitated, as we have remarked already, from other similar trees in the pictures of Lazzaro Bastiani; none of which would appear to have been studied from life, but recall the trees in some antique bas-relief.

This picture, like the others, was mutilated on the top and sides. Upon a small label affixed to the landing-stage we may read the name and date: *Op. Victoris Carpatio MCCCCLXXXX. M. Septembris.*

As we know from the *Mariegola* already quoted the members of the Scuola began in 1488 to collect funds for the "canvases" (*telleri*) that were eventually to adorn their chapel. *The Arrival at Cologne* is therefore the first painting of the Cycle and also to our knowledge Carpaccio's first *dated* picture. But how shall we explain the painter's action in commencing his task with this small canvas, which is one of the concluding scenes of the Legend? The moderate size indeed admits of our belief that the painter had in a sense desired to test his capabilities in a composition of minor importance. But we are also able to put forward a fair working hypothesis to account for Carpaccio's choice in setting to work first upon one of the last scenes in the Story. The Barbaro Genealogical MS. throws light upon a curious circumstance in reference to the Oratory before Carpaccio's paintings were placed there. The tombs of the Loredan family stood along the walls, and it was only in 1492 that Marco Loredan's tomb was removed to make way for Carpaccio's canvases. We may therefore suppose that on one of the walls there remained a small free space, and



THE ARRIVAL AT COLOGNE.

The Martyrdom of S. Ursula and her Companions.

that Carpaccio, having composed in his mind the plan of his Cycle, commenced his work with the scene which in his final arrangement would occupy this space.

And now we reach the last scene,[1] divided into two unequal portions by a beautiful painted column.

The Martyrdom of S. Ursula, of the Pope and of the virgins, victims to the cruelty of the Huns, occupies the longer portion. Among the virgins Carpaccio has placed cardinals and bishops, whose names are recorded in *The Golden Legend*: Cardinal Vincenzo, Maurizio Bishop of Modena, Follan Bishop of Lucca, Sulpizio Bishop of Ravenna, etc.

The scene is a masterpiece of well-balanced if unemotional composition. The fury of the onslaught does not disturb the harmony and refinement of the attitudes. The virgins submit to their fate with perfect grace of mien, and the executioners, on their side, put their victims to death with courteous and affable gestures. The artist's kindly nature could not render violent passion in the degree required for such a scene of atrocity.

The centre of the scene shows us the Saint on her knees; at a little distance, upright and alone, stands the noble figure of a young knight, who with head bent slightly on one side and longing glance lets fall his sword as though assailed and overcome by sudden and profound emotion. A fleeting love episode this, which Memling has also represented with infinite charm and refinement.

In fact we know from the Legend that the young Giuliano, son of the King of the Huns, overwhelmed at the sight of the pure beauty of the sainted virgin, offered to rescue her on condition that she became his wife.

We believe that in the course of this study we have demonstrated sufficiently that Carpaccio's paintings show no lack of contemporary portraits. Nay rather they abound. The question therefore rises at once to our lips, who was that handsome youth, who in the centre of this scene gazes with such a love-lorn look of pity upon this maiden at the point of death? The expression of ideal sorrow in his countenance vividly recalls to us the portrait of *An Unknown Young Man* in the Uffizi Gallery. The reader will doubtless pardon us if we venture upon a suggestion which may at least be called idyllic, like the episode to which it refers.

We know of no *portrait of Carpaccio*, but we cannot doubt that, following in this respect the custom of the painters of his day, he did reproduce his own likeness in some one of his paintings. How then can we resist the temptation to imagine that in the youthful Prince enamoured of S. Ursula the painter has portrayed himself?

[1] Venice Academy, No. 580. Canvas: 2 m. 75 cm. × 5 m. 62 cm. Signed: *Victoris Carpatio Opus, MCCCCLXXXXIII.*

The group of which this figure forms the centre is the most expressive and significant in the entire Cycle; the Epilogue as it were of the Tragedy. Would it not be natural for the painter to have chosen this scene to place therein his own portrait?

From the background, behind this group, other armed men are seen advancing, at whose head rides the old King of the Huns. Above him floats a red and white standard adorned with six crowns, which, according to ancient writers, was the Standard of the Goths, and not, as has been erroneously stated, on account of a partial resemblance, that of the City of Cologne. Since he had to paint the Standard of the Huns, failing to find any description of the correct device, Carpaccio chose, for want of a better, the Standard of another barbarian horde.

The shorter portion of the diptych, separated from the preceding scene by a column, brings us to *The Obsequies of S. Ursula.*

The martyred Saint reclines upon a gilded bier upheld by four bishops: and a magnificent canopy, borne aloft by four youths, is raised over the group. The delicate ornamentation of the baldacchino is a noteworthy and, from its rarity, an important example of an art of other times, of which few traces have come down to us; that is to say, of painting in transparent colours upon cloth of silk and gold.[1]

The mourners, garbed as Venetian patricians, are also portraits, and represent other members of the Loredan family; and it is the Loredan escutcheon which graces the slender column that divides the picture into two halves. The azure field of the Loredan shield is now but a greenish stain; doubtless the effect of time, for the old masters always paid the greatest attention to the proper reproduction of heraldic colours in coats-of-arms. And this detail, too, enables us to imagine what these scenes were like when first painted; how vivid and how harmonious the colouring must have been. Now alas! we look upon works dimmed and worn by time, and perhaps also dulled still more by the restorer's profaning hand.

At the foot of the column we observe two shields superposed; the one beneath shows a field gules, and the other above it the achievement of Loredan. They doubtless form the united cognizances of a married couple. Barbaro's MS. *Libro delle nozze patrizie* informs us of the circumstance that there was but one patrician lady married to a Loredan at that time whose escutcheon bore a field gules with an heraldic device thereon so small

[1] Documents in the Venetian Archives often allude to this art, and record particularly certain Florentine artists, who excelled in this method of painting curtains, coverlets, trumpet-pennants, standards, etc., etc,

100 The Son of the King of the Huns.

101 Portrait of an Unknown Personage.
Venetian School. In the Uffizi, Florence.

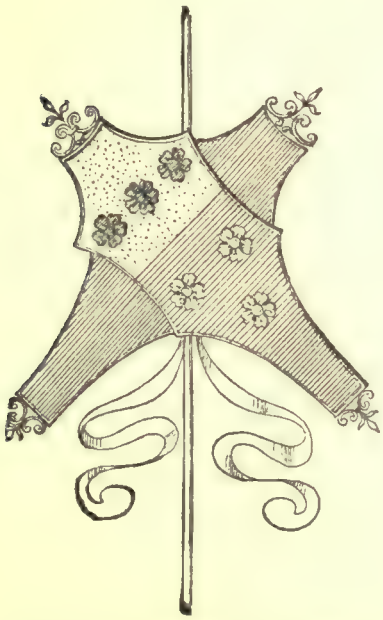
Donna Eugenia Caotorta (1st Wife of Nicolò Loredan), Angelo Loredan, and the Brethren of San Giovanni e Paolo.

103 ANGELO LOREDAN.

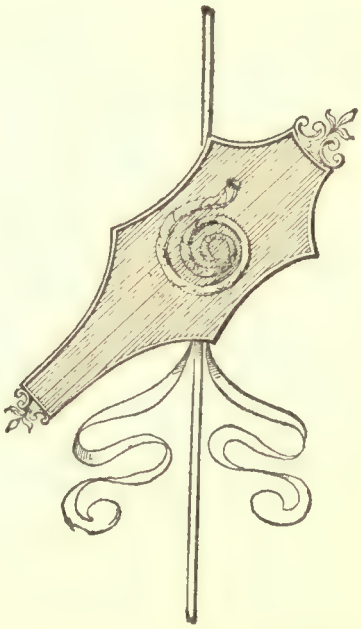
104 PORTRAIT OF FRA TEODORO DA URBINO, ONE OF THE BRETHREN OF SAN GIOVANNI E PAOLO, VENICE.
By Giovanni Bellini.

as to be concealed by the shield set over it. This lady was the last of the Caotorta. We may thus safely conclude that the figure, with hands folded over her rosary, who kneels in the corner of the painting, reproduces the features of Eugenia Caotorta, the wealthy heiress of that stock who married Nicolò Loredan.

But the question arises, why has the painter represented her *outside* the group who are mounting the steps of the shrine? The reply is that Eugenia was already dead in 1493 when the picture was painted, and it is a well-known fact that mediæval painters were accustomed to represent deceased persons separated from the living. We know also that many patricians were accus-



The Coat of Arms of the Loredan.



The Coat of Arms of the Caotorta.

tomed to direct by Will that they might be clad after death in the humble garb of some Religious Order. This is why the scion of the Caotorta and the wife of a Loredan, who in life was surrounded by luxury and wealth, is represented by Carpaccio in the habit of an "oblate" (*pinzochera*).

The patrician standing by the column, dressed in a fur-trimmed gown, carrying a candle in his right hand and looking toward the spectator, is undoubtedly Angelo Loredan, who remained a bachelor, and to whom Eugenia Caotorta alludes with marked affection in her Will, expressing the hope that he will be a second father to her children (*egli sarà come un secondo padre pei suoi figli*). Angelo Loredan lived in close friendship with the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, who inherited a moiety of his property. This would

explain why Carpaccio has placed him in close proximity to some Dominican monks, who are probably also portraits. One of them perhaps is the celebrated friar, Fra Francesco Colonna, but we are unable to determine which he may be. We have the portrait of one of the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo by the hand of Giovanni Bellini. It is that of *Fra Teodoro da' Urbino in the guise of S. Dominick*, who was Dean of the monastery, though not admitted to the degree of Master in Theology.

Over the high altar, as a fitting termination to this wonderful series of paintings, stood the splendid *pala*[1] representing *The Apotheosis of S. Ursula.*

In the earlier chapel this altar-piece covered almost the whole wall; and the end and side walls met at the capitals of the pilasters. The architectural framework of the scene represents the open archway of a temple, and was intended to form a sort of extended vista of the unadorned nave of the Scuola. A sheaf of palms encircled by cherub heads rises in the centre. The Saint stands upon this palm-sheaf as upon a column, whilst from above God the Father extends His hands over her in blessing. Her virgin companions kneel right and left, arrayed severally in brocade, green cloth and golden tissue,—the sumptuous attire of Venetian ladies of rank. Among them we may also note the manly countenance of the young Prince Hereus, S. Ursula's Betrothed.

In the foreground to the left of the spectator a charming group of three young women compels our attention. The original drawings, of which Carpaccio made use when painting these three beautiful figures, are in London in the Gathorne Hardy Collection.

We recognize the same model a little idealized in the three female Saints in the great altar-piece of S. Giobbe.

Shall we look for portraits here also? No doubt exists for us but that these three young women are Pietro Loredan's three sisters,—Cristina, Agnesina and Maddalena,—who were also patrons and benefactresses of the Scuola.

Finally in the middle distance, to the left of the spectator, Carpaccio has introduced, amid a group of kneeling virgins, three male heads, besides that of the Pope. The artist may here have desired to represent three Benchers of the Scuola, to whose efforts the paintings to adorn it were largely due.

We therefore would like to see in these heads the portraits of the *Gastaldo* Ser Antonio di Filippo, the *Vicario* Ser Bartolommeo Maieter and the *Scrivano* Ser Francesco Franchin. But have not our readers already endured a surfeit of hypothetical attributions?

[1] Venice Academy, No. 576. Canvas: 4 m. 79 cm. × 3 m. 39 cm. Signed: *Opus, Victoris Carpatio MCCCCXXXXI.* Original dimensions: 4 m. 98 cm. × 3 m. 39 cm.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF S. URSULA.

106 SKETCH BY VITTORE CARPACCIO
In the Gathorne-Hardy Collection, London.

107 SKETCH BY VITTORE CARPACCIO.
In the Gathorne-Hardy Collection, London.

108 Christina, Agnesina, and Maddalena Loredan.

109 Portraits of the Provosts of the School of S. Ursula.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCUOLA DEGLI SCHIAVONI. CARPACCIO'S PICTURES IN THE OLD SCUOLA

THE annals of that sturdy race of soldiers and sailors, which gave the name of Dalmatia to the long stretch of coast shut in by Croatia, Bosnia and Albania, are closely interwoven with the history of the Venetian Republic.

Dalmatia, subjugated by the Romans, invaded after the Fall of the Empire by the Erulians and the Ostrogoths, united once more to the Empire of the West under Justinian, ruled over by the Greeks and subsequently by the Franks, had waged long and bloody strife with the young Republic, born amid the Lagoons of Venice, —the first among the free lands of Italy.

Over the Dalmatians who scoured the sea as pirates, sometimes defeating even the fleets of Venice, the Doge Pietro Orseolo II. obtained the victory (A.D. 1000) which secured to him the title of Duke of Dalmatia. That region did not however come completely and securely under Venetian dominion until 1409, when Ladislaus, King of Naples, ceded the district to Venice, who governed the country with a kindly and beneficent rule, calculated to create for herself loyal and devoted subjects.

The Dalmatians, or Sclavonians, were always received as brethren by the Venetians, who named the principal street of their city after them. The faithful Dalmatians were summoned to defend the Metropolis, when, in 1797, the ruin of the Republic was at hand: and it was the pusillanimity of the patricians alone that prevented her valiant subjects from sacrificing their lives for their beloved Venice. Not servile obedience, therefore, but faithful loyalty evoked the lamentations of the Dalmatian people at the surrender of S. Mark; when the Standard received from the inhabitants of Perasto a tribute of honour and sympathy such as no other symbol of a past government had ever before deserved.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century certain Dalmatian or Sclavonian citizens resolved to band themselves together, not merely in order to keep in touch with their fellow-countrymen dwelling upon the lagoons, but also with the object of assisting indigent Dalmatian mariners in old age and sickness, and after death to provide them with Christian Burial; and a charitable Confraternity was formed under the patronage of the Holy Martyrs George and Tryphonius.

The Scuola was recognized by the Council of Ten on May 9th, 1451,[1] and the Mariegola (Chapter III.), which is still preserved,[2] records their Decree with these words:

"Having heard the devout and humble petition of certain "*Sclavonian sailors, resident in this blessed city of Venice*, moved by "piety, knowing and observing the infinite variety of men of their "nation . . . stricken by death, or sickness, who perish of necessity "and hunger, having no support, nor help from any one in this world "because they *are aliens* . . . leave was implored by the said "Sclavonians to form in Venice a Brotherhood, otherwise a Scuola, "according to the manner of the other small Scuole in honour of "Messer S. George and Messer S. Tryphonius in the church of "Messer S. John of the Templars . . . by means of which the said "supplicants can receive and hold alms for the support of such of "their brethren, and besides that the said brethren can go and carry "to burial the said brethren for the Love of God, and can place their "corpses in the vaults of the said Scuola."

(*Intesa la devota, et umile supplicatione di alcuni* Marinari Schiavoni habitatori de questa benedetta Città di Venetia, *li quali per pietade mossi cognossando et vedendo infinite novitade de homeni della sua Nation . . . percossi ad mortem, overo debilitadi, li quali da necessità e fame periscono, non habbiandi sovension, ne sussidio de alcuna persona di questo mondo perchè essi* sono forestieri . . . *fu supplicado per li detti Schiavoni poder levar in Venetia una fraternitade, overo Scuola secondo la condition dell' altre Scuole picciole in honore de Misser San Zorzi, et Misser San Trifon nella Chiesa de* Misser San Zuane del Tempio . . . . *mediante la qual li detti supplicanti possano recever, et haver elemosine per sovenimento di questi tali suoi fradelli, et ancora li detti fradelli poder andar a ricever per sepelir li detti Fratelli morti per l'Amor de Dio, et poter mettere li detti Corpi nelle Arche della detta Scuola.*)

The church of S. John of the Templars with its convent and large garden belonged to the Templars up to 1312, in which year, on the suppression of that Order, it passed to that of St. John

[1] *Arch. di Stato. Misti*, Reg. xiv., C. 47 (at the back).
[2] Ibid., *Provveditori di Comun.* Reg. P. *Sestiere di Castello* T.I.C. 579.

of Jerusalem, known first as the Knights of Rhodes, and afterwards of Malta.

On May 23rd, 1451 the Dalmatians, besides four burial vaults, were allowed by the compassion of Lorenzo Marcello, Prior of the Order, the use in the church of "the vault and place which is beneath the campanile to found, erect, and construct an altar" (*l'Arca et luogo che è sotto il campanile, per fondare, drizzare et fabbricare un Altare*) for the celebration of Divine Service; and for their place of meeting they obtained a small two-storeyed house near by, formerly used by the Order of Jerusalem as a Hospital, and dedicated to S. Catherine.

In return for these advantages the Dalmatians were to pay the Order an annual rent of four *Zecchini*, two loaves of bread and one pound of wax, to be presented on the Feast of S. George.[1]

For one hundred years this humble dwelling witnessed the unpretending and useful life of the Confraternity, pictured for us in the chapters of the Mariegola, the preamble of which commences by invoking the protection of S. George, the Warrior martyred by Diocletian, and of the lad Tryphonius, Patron Saint of the City of Cattaro.

No mention, however, is made of the great national Saint, Jerome, born in 346 at Stridonia in Dalmatia, who journeyed through Italy, Gaul, and Asia effecting many conversions, and having produced many weighty tomes, ended his life in 420 in a convent at Bethlehem. His cult was general in other churches and Scuole, but it was the Dalmatians, as we shall see, who found the means of interpreting through Carpaccio's genius their reverence for this venerable Saint.

The Rules of the Dalmatian Brethren differed in no way from that of the other Scuole. Every year on the last Sunday in June they met at a General Chapter. On the Saturday before this Sunday they were present at a solemn service in the *Chiesa de missier San Zuane del Tempio.* They performed many charitable actions, and they professed both in word and deed a profound and loving loyalty to the *alma Città de Venetia e a Missier lo doxe.* They accepted among their number Brethren of any other nation, except the Albanians, but they desired that the Bench or Governing Body should at all times be Sclavonian (*in ogni tempo Slava*).

These regulations of a general nature alternated with curious details of homely import.

For example, on October 3rd, 1459 it was prohibited to lend to any person, "whether religious or secular, any furniture, candles, torches, hangings, curtains, carpets, tapestry, candlesticks" (*sì*

[1] Corner Flaminio, *Eccl. Ven.*, Venetiis, Pasquali, 1749.

religiose come secolare, alcun arnexe, cere, dopieri, paramenti, tende, tapedi, razzi, candelieri), except for the processions ordered by "Our most Serene State, on whom may the blessings of Heaven ever fall, and may she be reverenced by strangers, feared by enemies, and a terror to the rebellious" (*Nostra Serenissima Signoria, a cui piovano sempre dal Cielo le celesti beneditioni; e sia riverita dagli stranieri, temuta dai nemici, paventata da ribelli*).

We find next a still more curious prohibition, by which on the solemn feast of S. George and S. Tryphonius no one could "light a fire, cook, or take a meal here in Our House, under penalty of being expelled for ever from this our Scuola" (*far fuogo, ne cuzinar, ne far pasto qui alla Nostra Casa sotto pena d' esser cazzadi in perpetuo da questa nostra Scuola*).

And not less interesting are the controversies with the Knights of Jerusalem, which began in 1503.

The Knights insisted that the Sclavonians should not on the day of the Feast of S. John set up before the altar granted to them a stall for the distribution of bread and candles, "a thing that dishonours the church" (*cosa che desconza la chiesa*); nor should they on that day open the Scuola degli Schiavoni. This thing seemed to the Dalmatians "contrary to the honour of God, and also of great injury to the poor of the Scuola, because they did not take bread and candles which are alms by which the poor and the Scuola were supported" (*contro l' honor de Dio et ancora con grande danno delli poveri della Scuola, perchè non se piglia pane candelle che è elemosina, della quale si substenta li poveri et la Scuola*).

The Brethren laid their grievance before the magistrates, who at first decided that the Sclavonians should not open their Scuola, but that they might keep their stall in the church on the Feast of S. John; but later on, in 1506, they decreed that the church on that solemn day should not in any way be encumbered, granting instead to the Dalmatians that, despite the prohibition to open their Scuola, they might place a stall before the door for the distribution of bread and candles.

As time went on the Scuola grew in wealth and prosperity, amassing a number of articles of value. In 1502 the Mariegola makes mention of a Relic of S. George that had belonged to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and was brought to Venice by the patrician Paolo Valaresso as a gift to the Sclavonians. This important gift was temporarily deposited in the church of Sant' Angelo, in which parish Valaresso resided, and the Dalmatian Scuola with many priests, with pipes and with trumpets (*con assai preti, trombe e piphari*) went in procession to fetch the Holy Relic, which was

110 CHAPEL OF THE "SCUOLA DEGLI SCHIAVONI." Built in 1551.

111 HOSPITAL OF SANTA CATERINA.
From De Barbaris' Plan.

112 TWO BAS-RELIEFS ON THE FAÇADE OF THE "SCUOLA DEGLI SCHIAVONI."

then placed beside the magnificent Cross, still preserved there and exhibited on High Festivals.

Their prosperity soon moved the Brethren to adorn the Scuola with paintings representing the Lives of their Saints, and the commission was given to Carpaccio, because there was not at that time any craftsman of Dalmatian nationality who could complete a work of such size and importance.[1]

The Mariegola does not say as much, but certain it is that the year 1502 witnessed the placing in position of the first of Carpaccio's Series.

About half a century later the Scuola had fallen into such disrepair and ruin that the Brethren took counsel to build a new one, which was completed with a marble façade in 1551, as the inscription outside shows:

> *Collabentem nimia vetustate Aedem Divo Georgio dicatam Collegium Illyriorum Pietate et Animi Magnitudine Insignium Suo Nitori a Fundamentis Restituit MDLI.*

The Oratory built after the designs of Giovanni de Zon, Master-Mason at the Arsenal,[2] stands at the extremity of the Fondamenta di Sant' Antonio, looking over the canal on one side and on the other over a small piazza in the Calle dei Furlani. The main door is ornamented with a frieze of two dolphins fastened together by their tails. Above this frieze are two reliefs, set one above the other. The uppermost, which adorned the façade of the

[1] Talent of no mean order in the art of Painting was not, however, wanting among the Dalmatians, and we have records of Nicolò di Zara and of not a few miniaturists, among whom one of unknown name but a native of Cattaro illuminated a MS. preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana. In Carpaccio's time the Gastaldo of the Scuola was a painter named Zuccato, in whom we might perhaps see Sebastiano Zuccato, the author of an inferior painting now in the Museo Civico, who has been thought,—without any foundation however,—to have been Titian's first master in Venice. We cannot affirm it; but since Sebastiano's native place is not accurately known,—some stating his birthplace to be in the Valtellina and others at Treviso,—new documents may yet perhaps prove to us that this Dalmatian Zuccato is really the founder of the celebrated family of mosaic workers. Two Dalmatian painters, the brothers Miroseo Francesco (died 1535) and Gregorio (died 1539), sons of Luca da Sebenico, resided in the parish of S. Sofia. Among the Gastaldi of the Scuola degli Schiavoni we find also the miniaturist Francesco de Dominicis, who had a shop near S. Giuliano, at the sign of *Time*. He was related to another Dalmatian painter, Stefano Cernotto, from the island of Arbe, dead before 1543, who painted in the Palazzo dei Camerlenghi. Amongst all his compatriots, however, Andrew Meldola, surnamed *lo Schiavone*, obtained the greatest renown. He was believed to be a native of Sebenico, but from his Will, recently discovered, we know that he was born at Zara. Moschini, confusing Schiavone with another Dalmatian painter, Andrea da Curzola, places his death in the year 1582. The Obituaries instead state that Andrea Schiavone died on December 1st, 1561 of meningitis (*mal de mazzuco*). At the end of the sixteenth century another Dalmatian painter of note was Matteo Ponzone, who painted, as a commission from the Scuola and for the altar of the Sclavonians in S. Giovanni del Tempio, a painting of *S. George on horseback*, now to be seen at the Madonna dell' Orto.

[2] The contract of Maestro Giovanni de Zon for the façade of the Oratory of the Dalmatians was published by Gualandi in *Mem. risg. le belle arti*, Ser. iii., p. 79, Bologna, 1842. The stone-masons (*taia piera*), under the direction of Maestro Zuane, *all came from Rovignio*. De Zon also made, in 1563, a model for the restoration of the church of S. Secondo in Isola. His tomb was in the church of S. Domenico in Venice. Cfr. Cicogna, *Iscr.*, V, i., p. 143.

ancient hospital, and represents *The Virgin between SS. John the Baptist and Catherine*, is by an unknown author, but the lower relief of *S. George killing the Dragon* is the work of Pietro di Salò, one of Sansovino's best pupils.[1]

The original outer walls were preserved in the reconstruction of the edifice.

A presentment of the outward appearance of the old Scuola, pulled down in 1551, is visible in de Barbaris' careful Plan, and resembles greatly the buildings in the background of Carpaccio's painting of *S. Jerome and the Lion*, which are evidently intended for the church, the convent, the garden of the Knights of Jerusalem, and the adjacent Scuola degli Schiavoni occupying the former Hospital of S. Catherine, with the *Albergo* on the first floor, a staircase and an ill-lighted chamber on the floor below.

The portico in front of the Scuola which we see in Carpaccio's painting is absent from de Barbaris' Plan, where the building is shown with a central door, a grated window at either side, two windows on the upper floor very far apart and a rose-window placed almost under the eaves. Perhaps as a check upon the curiosity of the dwellers in the neighbouring houses there were no openings in the wall towards the Calle dei Furlani, whereas windows opened over the canal and over the convent garden of S. Lorenzo on the opposite bank.

But traces of the Scuola which Carpaccio saw and painted are preserved to us not in pictures alone but also in divers parts of the present building.

The staircase we see to-day built against the old wall on the canal side fills a narrow space, which contracts still farther higher up, so as scarcely to admit of access. There can be no doubt that this staircase was made in consequence of internal structural alterations, and, taking advantage of the old wall, served as an auxiliary approach to the upper floor: and that another less inconvenient staircase had originally existed. In fact, if we examine the wall towards the Calle dei Furlani, we perceive near the corner at the end a walled-up door framed in graceful fourteenth-century jamb and lintel, and adorned with a fine relief representing S. John, the Patron of the Order of Jerusalem. This formed at one time doubtless the entrance to a staircase built in a passage between the end wall of the Scuola and a wall of the lower floor.

The floor of the lower chamber, ill-lighted by two grated

[1] "The agreement for S. George in marble, with Pietro di Salò" (*L' accordo del San Zorzi de marmoro con piero da Sallo*), dated March 8th, 1551, was published by Gualandi in his *Memorie* cit., Ser. iii., p. 81. The sculptor undertook to hand over the completed work within "the term of one year next to come, which will be March 30th, 1552" (*in termene de uno ano prosimo auegnir che sarà de* 1552 *adi* 30 *marzo*).

windows, contained in the centre the tomb-stone closing the burial vault of the Brethren : and the altar at which Masses for the Dead were said must have stood against the end wall, behind which lay the passage of the former staircase. To the right of the altar opened a door leading to the staircase, to the left another door gave access to a dark closet under the stairs. This was probably the hidden spot where the Brethren, contrary to special prohibition, cooked their food.

In the rebuilding of 1551 the old staircase being demolished and a new one put up towards the canal much space was gained, and partly used in the construction of the sacristy. The windows of the new oratory on the ground floor were also enlarged, and thither Carpaccio's paintings were transferred, and set up in the order in which we now see them. From their dimensions and their sequence we readily perceive that, neither were they executed for the new oratory, nor intended to be arranged according to their present order. To comprehend Carpaccio's marvellous genius for decorative effect we should not study his paintings singly but as a whole, in the composition of an entire Cycle. It behoves us therefore to restore the pictures to their original order, noticing primarily the direction of the light—an all-important consideration to Venetian artists in the grouping of their figures.

The paintings executed by our artist for the old Scuola were placed in the *Albergo* or Upper Chamber, lighted by two windows in the façade and two others overlooking the canal. The altar stood against the wall towards Calle dei Furlani. This wall was bare, and behind it rose the staircase which continued up to the roof.

Chronology will be of no little assistance to us in replacing the paintings in their primitive order.

The Call of S. Matthew is dated 1502, and the doorpost of the Saint's shop bears an escutcheon repeated also in another painting—*Christ in the Garden.* It is not improbable that in 1502 a benefactor,—perhaps a member of the Scuola,—of the name of Matthew, to whose surname neither the coat-of-arms nor documents afford any clue, gave these two paintings to the Scuola. They would have been placed to the right and left of the altar, and were thus lighted by the windows in the façade. *The Call* was *in cornu Evangelii*, and the *Christ in the Garden in cornu Epistolæ.* Can these paintings have inspired the Brethren with the desire to trust Carpaccio with the decoration of the other walls? This may well be the case; nor can it be doubted that the other pictures were ordered at intervals, according as the means of the Scuola permitted. In that same year (1502) *The Death of S. Jerome* was placed on the end wall, lighted by

the two lateral windows over the canal; a decoration completed later by *S. Jerome and the Lion* and *S. Jerome in his Study*, set up one to the left and the other to the right of the first paintings. The remainder must have been ordered at long intervals, and it is within these periods that we would place the undated pictures. We know that *The Call of S. Matthew*, *Christ in the Garden*, and *The Death of S. Jerome* are dated 1502, and *S. Jerome and the Lion* 1503. But in 1504 Carpaccio, in company with his pupils, was hard at work upon the paintings for the Scuola degli Albanesi; whence it follows, since he can have had but scant leisure, that only in 1505 could he have completed *S. Jerome in his Study*.

The scenes from *The Legend of S. George* are undated. Upon the two first, *S. George and the Dragon* and *The Triumph of S. George*, we notice two white labels, which perhaps bore inscriptions, of which however no trace now remains. On the scene of *S. George baptizing the Gentiles* we may just distinguish certain numerals written upon the painting,—not upon the accustomed label,—in which Cavalcaselle reads the year 1508, whilst others instead suggest 1511. But this date, lost in the corner of the painting, must be apocryphal, since Carpaccio, whenever he did not place the accustomed label upon his work, took care to introduce his name and the year into some portion of the architecture; for example, upon the window-sill, as we observe in the painting preserved at Frankfort. To this rule there is but one exception, and that in *The Lion of S. Mark*, where the name alone without a label, and not inserted in the architecture, is written in a serpentine line amongst plants in a garden.

We would conjecture therefore, whilst placing no faith in the date written on the picture, that *S. George killing the Dragon* was completed in 1505, and set up on the wall facing the altar, between the two openings on to the canal, so as to be lighted by the other two windows in the façade.

The entrance to the stairs opened on the fourth wall, in the corner to the left of the spectator, and the door-frame probably marked the commencement of the remaining scenes in the following order: *The Triumph of S. George*, *S. George baptizing the Gentiles*, and *The Miracle of S. Tryphonius*.

These two last are now placed in symmetrical correspondence; one on the right of the altar and the other on the left. This was certainly not the position desired by the painter, for the flights of steps represented in the paintings now follow the same direction instead of facing one another in accordance with the painter's constant practice: opposite and divergent. For that reason the two paintings, instead of being juxtaposed, would have formed a sequence.

In the last picture, *S. Tryphonius*, we have a single group of individuals wearing the Venetian costume of the day among all the other lay personages attired in Oriental garb. These are evidently portraits of the Brethren, and this picture which portrayed the Heads of the Scuola would certainly have the place of honour, to the right of the altar *in cornu Evangelii*, thus strengthening our conjectures as to the arrangement of the paintings.

CHAPTER VII

CARPACCIO'S PAINTINGS IN THE NEW ORATORY OF THE SCUOLA DEGLI SCHIAVONI

IN 1551 the new Scuola being completed, the paintings were removed from the Upper Chamber on the first floor of the *Albergo* to the Oratory on the ground floor, and placed in a totally different order to suit the altered conditions.

The altar stands opposite the door and the lower portion of the wall is panelled throughout with walnut. The paintings fill the space of 1 m. 41 cm. in height from the wainscot to the cornice. The grooved pilasters of wood which separate the paintings and the cornice running round the ceiling are of pure and graceful style, such as would induce the belief that they date back to an earlier period than that of the rebuilding,—a period already marked by the decay of Art,—and would suggest that they also had been transferred from the *Albergo* on the first floor along with Carpaccio's paintings.

Marco Boschini writes in *Le Ricche Minere*[1] that in the Scuola degli Schiavoni there were "nine paintings by Vittore Carpaccio; some of the *Life of S. Jerome*, others of the *Life of S. George*, and one of *Christ in the Garden*; precious works painted between 1502 and 1507."

The chapel of the Schiavoni and Carpaccio's pictures have furnished Mr. Ruskin with the subject of a most curious study.[2]

Mr. Ruskin with quaint originality thus describes the Oratory of the Scuola, a building still untouched and undesecrated by modern irreverence, and which in its appearance transports us in spirit to olden times:

"Entering we find ourselves in a little room about the size of

[1] *Le Ricche Minere della pittura veneziana, compendiosa informazione ecc.* Venezia, Nicolini, 1674.

[2] *S. Mark's Rest. The Shrine of the Slaves.* Kent, 1877. This essay has been admirably translated into Italian, together with others of Mr. Ruskin's studies by Signora Pezzé-Pascolato, (Florence, Barbéra, 1901.)

"the commercial parlour of an old-fashioned English inn; perhaps "an inch or two higher in the ceiling, which is of good horizontal "beams, narrow and many, for effect of richness; painted and gilded, "also, now tawdrily enough, but always in some such patterns as "you see. At the end of the low room is an altar, with doors on the "right and left of it in the sides of the room, opening, the one into "the sacristy, the other to the stairs leading to the upper chapel. "All the rest mere flat wall, wainscoted two-thirds up, eight feet or "so, leaving a third of the height, say four feet, claiming some kind "of decent decoration. Which modest demand you perceive to be "modestly supplied, by pictures, fitting that measure in height, and "running long or short, as suits their subjects; ten altogether (or with "the altarpiece eleven), of which nine are worth your looking at.

"Not as very successful decorative work, I admit. A modern "Parisian upholsterer, or clever Kensington student, would have "done for you a far surpassing splendour in a few hours: all that "we can say here, at the utmost, is that the place looks comfortable; "and especially, warm,—the pictures having the effect, you will "feel presently, of a soft evening sunshine on the walls, or glow "from embers on some peaceful hearth, cast up into the room where "one sits waiting for dear friends in the twilight."

The illustrious critic, in company with his fellow-labourer, Mr. James Reddie Anderson, proceeds to wonder at Carpaccio's works, and he describes them with justifiable enthusiasm. But too often cloudy metaphysic and hair-splitting argument diminish the force, depth and truth of the judgments of the two critics, who search the artist's paintings in vain for Evangelical conceptions, ideals of human perfection and symbols of Christian vocation. Carpaccio would certainly never have understood these Evangelical subtleties. With perfect single-mindedness he drew his inspiration from nature, careless of philosophical disquisitions, which have many other fields open before them without invading that of Art.

The paintings removed from the *Albergo* are arranged in the new Oratory in different order.

The original painting over the altar being injured and defaced was replaced by another of *The Madonna surrounded by angels*, erroneously attributed to Vincenzo Catena. The entrance wall opposite is now empty, but at one time this painting of *The Madonna* hung there, together with a small painting of unknown authorship, now lost, representing *S. George and the Dragon.*

Of Carpaccio's paintings the first to the right, beside the altar, represents *S. George baptizing the Gentiles* (2 m. 73 cm. in width) and beyond the door leading to the upper floor, there is, in the corner, an inferior work of oblong shape, a *Risen Christ*, believed to

be by Aliense, but which may with more reason be attributed to Palma the Younger.

Beyond this painting,—set up here as a convenience to cover a wall-space that would have remained vacant,—there are two scenes, *S. George and the Dragon* (3 m. 50 cm. in width) and *The Triumph of S. George* (3 m. 54 cm.). To the left of the altar comes *S. Tryphonius and the Basilisk* (2 m. 86 cm.), and then the door of the sacristy. Beyond that on the lateral wall are *The Call of Matthew* and *Jesus in the Garden*, and finally, in succession, *S. Jerome and the Lion* (2 m. ·06 cm.), *The Death of S. Jerome* (2 m. 11 cm.) and *S. Jerome in his Study* (2 m. 18 cm.). This last painting, which represents S. Jerome in the prime of life, ought in logical order to come first though it appears instead last; i.e. after the Saint's death. Messrs. Ruskin and Anderson do not believe this order to have come about by chance, for in this painting they discern the symbol of S. Jerome's life in Heaven; the craftsman having intended to express the Saint's perfect dominion over his intellect in the fulfilment of the just desires of his spirit.

It may be indeed that the position of the pictures was governed by necessity of space, or it might be the result of inadvertence, but we should add that the placing of *S. Jerome in his Study* after his *Death and Obsequies* was a species of traditional artistic formula. We have several other instances of this. In a fifteenth-century predella of the Florentine School *The Obsequies of S. Jerome* are represented first, followed as a sequel by *The Saint in his Study*.

We shall now proceed to examine Carpaccio's works in their chronological order.

In *The Call of S. Matthew* the Publican is seen robed in a sumptuous gown of flowered brocade. Leaving his stall he draws nigh to Jesus, who stands amid His Disciples, and he clasps His hand with that humble expression of submission of which the early translator of Voragine's *Legenda* speaks: "That haste of obedience that without thought, when Christ called him, he immediately left his stall: and without fearing his masters, left incomplete his accounts and his taxes and gave himself entirely to Christ" (*quella velocità del obedientia che incontinente che Christo el chiamò subito lassò el bancho: et non temendo li signori soi lassò imperfecte le ragione ne dacii et perfectamente se acostò a Christo*). The craftsman who, inspired by this devout legend, could imbue the countenance of this Apostle with so profound a religious feeling is at the same time a most diligent interpreter of Venetian life in the setting of his scene—the interior of a money-changer's stall. The money-changers (*campsores*) kept their *tavola* or stall up to the end of the fourteenth century, but after that time we hear also of the *bancherius de scripta*, or banker in the modern sense, and

113 THE CALL OF S. MATTHEW.
By Vittore Carpaccio.

Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane.
By Vittore Carpaccio.

117 FUNERAL OF S. JEROME. S. JEROME IN HIS ORATORY.

Predella of a Sixteenth-century Florentine Picture.

115 Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane.
By Ercole Roberti. In the Dresden Gallery.

116 A Sleeping Apostle.
Sketch in the Louvre.

henceforth indeed the appellation *del banco* begins to be met with attached to the surnames of noble citizens, who practised the profession of bankers.

In the background to the spectator's right rises a massive tower surmounting an arch; a sort of gate-house to a walled city, of which examples are still to be seen in Venetia. To the left, between two pilasters forming the threshold, we discern the Publican's counting-house. The wall is partly hung with tapestry, above which are drawers with labels to indicate their contents—deeds, etc.—and on high is an article of furniture known as a *restello* (a kind of shelf) studded with nails or pegs, from which hung files of papers. A handsome carpet is spread upon the stall, which protrudes beyond the pilasters into the street, and one notices upon the sill a scoop used to collect coin in heaps and pour it into sacks. Upon one of the pilasters is painted the donor's escutcheon of arms, repeated also in the other painting, *Christ in the Garden.* Although the colours are much faded we can distinguish the shield party per fesse gules and azure a lantern or with a glass proper.

The composition as a whole is designed with the skill and careful diligence that we look for in vain in the other painting, *Christ in the Garden of Olives*, where warm brilliance of colouring does not compensate for indifferent draughtsmanship.

The frigid and meagre figure of the Apostle lying upon his face in the foreground is evidently inspired by a painting, which has had many imitators; to wit the predella by the Ferrarese painter, Ercole Roberti (1450–1496), formerly in the church of S. Giovanni del Monte at Bologna, and now in the Royal Gallery at Dresden. If not the original painting by Roberti, Carpaccio must at any rate have seen a copy or a drawing, for the composition of *Christ in the Garden* in S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni reflects throughout that of the Ferrarese craftsman, especially in the matter of the Apostle lying face downwards. In the bold and very successful foreshortening of Roberti the effect is somewhat curtailed by the position of the head with the face hidden by the arms, showing only the hair: so much so that in a copy of this painting, now preserved in the Gallery at Ravenna, the copyist evidently wished to correct the master's defect, and the sleeping Apostle who lies thus extended bends his head a little to one side, thus allowing the face to be seen. The same posture of the head may also be seen repeated in a very beautiful drawing, now in the Louvre, attributed erroneously to Leonardo da Vinci, where the rest of the Apostle's figure is represented in the identical position of that of Roberti's original painting. The soft rounded

folds of this drawing are not by Leonardo da Vinci, nor by Roberti, whose drapery is characteristically hard and paper-like, but by some unknown painter of the Bolognese School. Carpaccio probably saw the drawing, but failing to imitate it transformed in his painting the easy boldness of the foreshortening into a corpse-like rigidity. The genius of the Venetian craftsman fell short of certain virtuosities of design. The figure of the Saviour is poorly conceived; nor does the dry and soulless landscape show any freedom of treatment, as witness the conscientious tree growing out of the mountain-side with leaves sprouting from its branches, like nothing so much as a herring-bone. The other two sleeping Apostles are better and less stiffly drawn.

The scenes from *The Life of S. Jerome* commence with the episode, taken from the Golden Legend, of the lion wounded in his paw by a thorn that dragged himself to the compassionate Saint to be healed, whose faithful companion he afterwards became. The scene is laid in the garden of a Venetian convent, but in order to let it be known that S. Jerome was then at Bethlehem the conscientious craftsman has introduced his customary palm-trees, tall and slender, into a corner of the background.

A two-storeyed edifice erected upon a portico, with the pointed windows and wooden balconies built out on brackets so characteristic of the Middle Ages, juts forward beside a lower building, consisting of a bare wall, broken only under the eaves by small square grated windows, corresponding doubtless with the monks' cells. In de Barbaris' Plan showing the Hospital of S. Catherine that was made over to the Schiavoni, we find the identical form of the taller building, to which Carpaccio has only added the arcades of the ground floor. And the neighbouring church of S. Giovanni del Tempio, as drawn by de Barbaris, is exactly the same building as that depicted by Carpaccio in his picture to the spectator's left.

It was a kindly thought of the naïve and truth-loving mediæval craftsmen to introduce into their backgrounds the townships and cities that were to welcome their works, or the birthplaces or countries specially dear to the donors.

The lateral wall of the church affords us a precious record of Venetian sacred architecture in the Middle Ages, untouched as yet by the innovations of later times.

Over the ivy-clad doorway we observe a fresco: the half-figure of the Eternal Father with hands raised in benediction. The lunettes of the cornice enclose a series of heads of Saints; and higher up along the wall of the nave, which rises above the aisle roof, another row of saintly figures are depicted full length. On the roof amid the tiles parasite plants (*sempervivum tectorum*, *sedum rubens*) grow abundantly with picturesque effect—plants that a

modern and less poetic, but more practical, age would have destroyed. From the façade projects one of those long and spacious porticoes, like that of S. Giovanni di Rialto, beneath which stood the *arche* or tombs, and where the sellers of objects of devotion set up their stalls.[1]

To the left of the spectator a flight of steps gives access to some farm buildings.

The intrusion into the solemn monastic calm of the lion, an unexpected and awe-inspiring guest, causes a stampede amongst the bystanders. In the foreground the panic-stricken monks, with uplifted hands and wildly fluttering garments, are making good their escape in precipitate flight. In vain the aged Saint, leaning on his crutch, endeavours to reassure and recall them; the lion raises his wounded paw in vain, bowing his head with an air of good-natured and almost humorous compunction. Certain minor figures of men and animals in the background display greater equanimity. The disordered flight of the monks suggests to the Protestant mind of Mr. Ruskin the following quaint considerations:

"What an account have we here given, voluntarily or involun-"tarily, of monastic life, by a man of the keenest perception, living "in the midst of it? That all the monks who have caught sight of "the lion should be terrified out of their wits—what a curious wit-"ness to the *timidity* of Monasticism! Here are people professing "to prefer Heaven to Earth—preparing themselves for the change "as the reward of all their present self-denial. And this is the "way they receive the first chance of it that offers!"

Admirably as the expression of fear is rendered, so excellent likewise are the brush-work and modelling, the sobriety and harmony of the colouring, the grace, restraint, and firmness of the drawing. The ridiculous appearance of these scared cenobites notwithstanding, the unbroken serenity of the entire scene adds greatly to its charm.

In the following scene representing *The Saint's Death* we are admitted into the convent itself, but the painter has arranged his composition under the spacious portico projecting from the façade of the church, so that the garden and buildings are seen from another side. To the beautiful palm, growing in the middle of the courtyard, a curious animal is attached by a chain: to the left are the farm buildings; to the right the convent. In the foreground under the portico the Saint's Obsequies are taking place. The dead body stiffened with that rigidity that none knew better than Carpaccio how to render, is laid out on the ground with the head resting upon a stone. Around the corpse upon their knees the blue-and-white robed monks are grouped in prayer;

[1] About the middle of the sixteenth century Cristoforo Busnadici, surnamed "Christopher of the medals" (*Cristoforo delle medaglie*), had his stall *under the portico of S. Giacomo di Rialto.*

one of whom, kneeling at the head of the corpse, is reading the Prayers for the Dead. A painter of antiquated methods would have shown us an ecstatic monk with large languorous eyes, rapt in seraphic contemplation, reciting the Office. Instead of which a humble friar with spectacles on nose is the model chosen by our sharp observer of reality. The drawing for the heads of the Brethren in the group to the spectator's right and that of a monk with a long beard standing up are preserved in the Uffizi.

Several figures robed in red stand to the right and left in various attitudes, and an old monk leaning upon his stick at the foot of the corpse certainly represents,—another intimate detail of monastic life,—one of those aged Brethren who are held in great reverence in their convents for their real or supposed sanctity. To the left in the shadow of the church-door we observe those symbols of mortality—a withered tree-trunk and a skull hung above a holy-water stoup. At the edge of the painting in the centre a little lizard holds a label in its jaws upon which we may read, *Victor Carpatius pingebat MDII.*

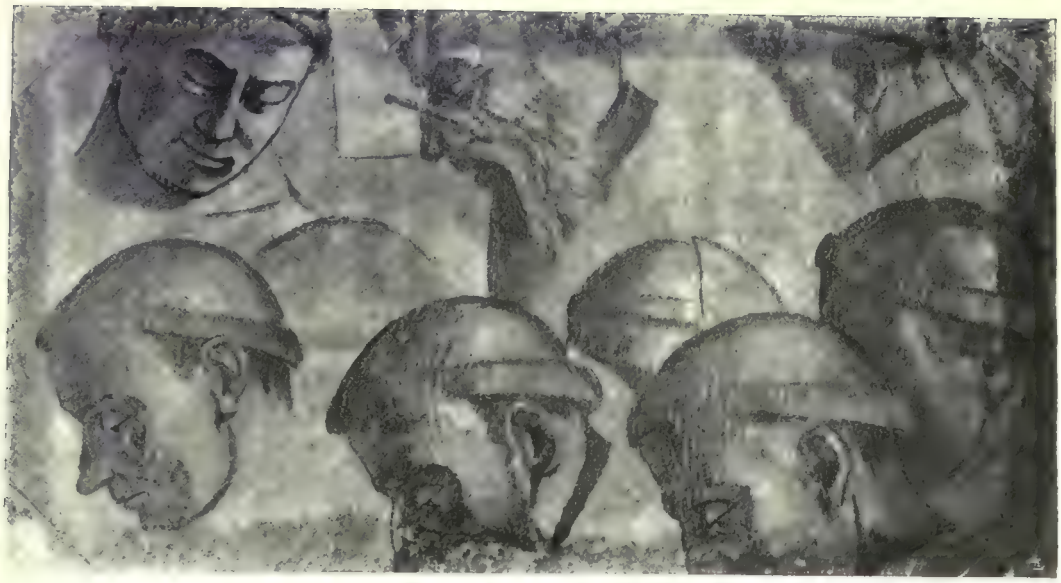
Lazzaro Bastiani, Carpaccio's master, treated the same subject with far less skill, representing all the Brethren standing upright around the Saint's corpse.

In the third scene we have *The Saint in his Paradise*, as Mr. Ruskin would have it, or rather in *his Study*—or better still, in *his Private Oratory*. Mr. Ruskin thinks that the Saint is here shown in the fulfilment of the desires of his higher nature, represented by the Arts and the Humanities. Music is symbolized by the score inscribed on one of the folios upon the floor; Painting by the illuminated missal and the richly decorated niche; Sculpture in the forms of all the furniture and their bronze ornaments. There is some truth in these fantastic and yet profound Ruskinian lucubrations, and we believe that Carpaccio did intend to represent the Saint specially in his character of the great Reformer of the Sacred Liturgy.

In fact Jacopo da Voragine writes, speaking of this reform as of one of Jerome's greatest merits:

"The Emperor Theodosius, as Joanne Bileth tells us, besought "Pope Damasus to commission some learned man to set in order "the Sacred Offices. He then knowing that Jerome was accom-"plished and learned in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, and "great in every sort of wisdom, gave such commission to him. "Jerome then divided up the Psalter for the Feasts, and to each "Feast assigned its own Nocturne, and directed that the *Gloria* "*Patri* should be said at the end of every Psalm: as Sigisbert tells "us. After this he arranged the Epistles and Gospels *to be sung* "throughout the year: and all other matters pertaining to the Office: "*except what is sung: and he sent it from Bethlehem to the Supreme*

The Funeral of S. Jerome.
By Vittore Carpaccio.



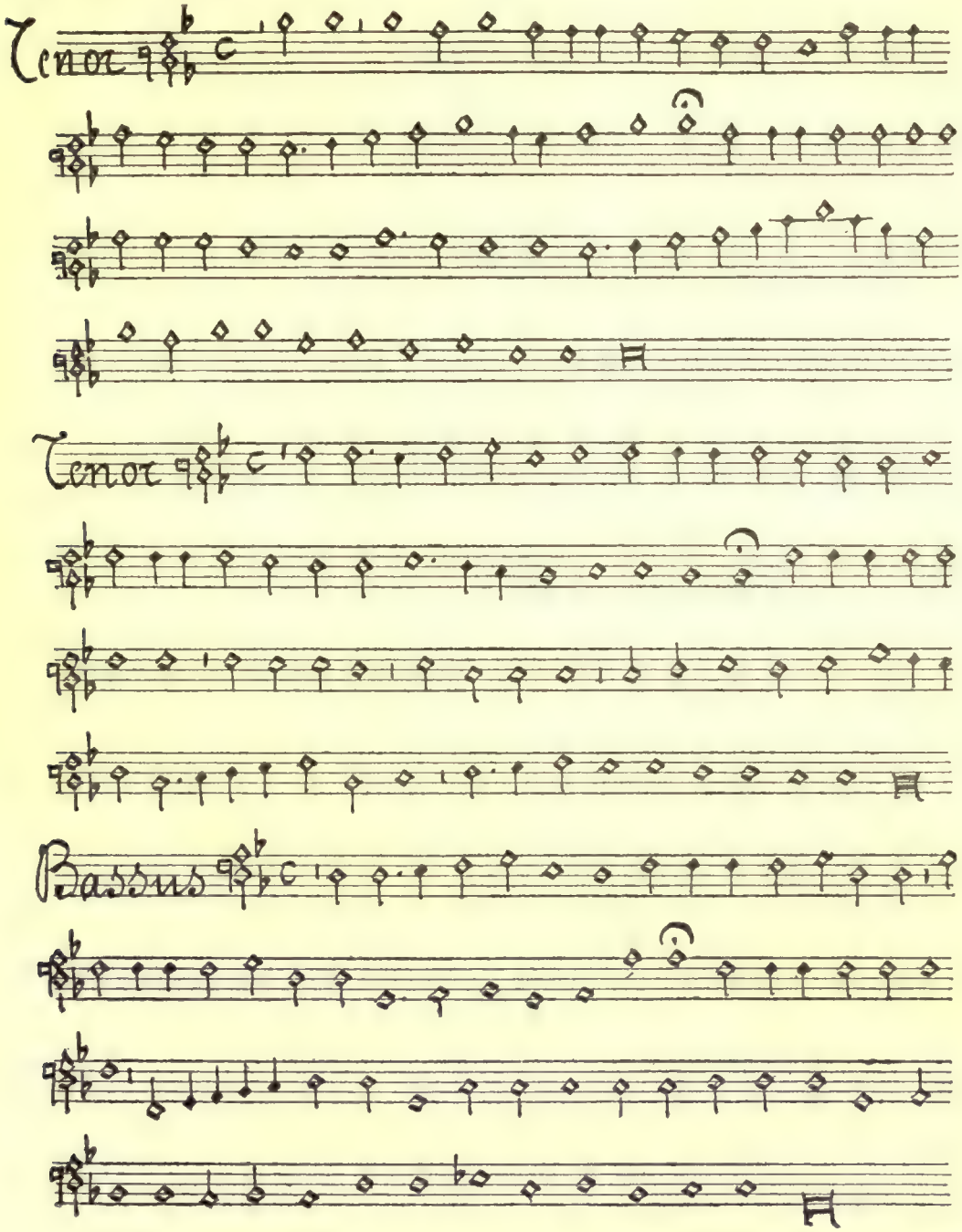
120 SKETCH OF HEADS OF MONKS. In the Uffizi, Florence.

121 MONKS PRAYING. Detail. By Carpaccio.

122 Sketch for the Figure of a Monk.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Uffizi, Florence.

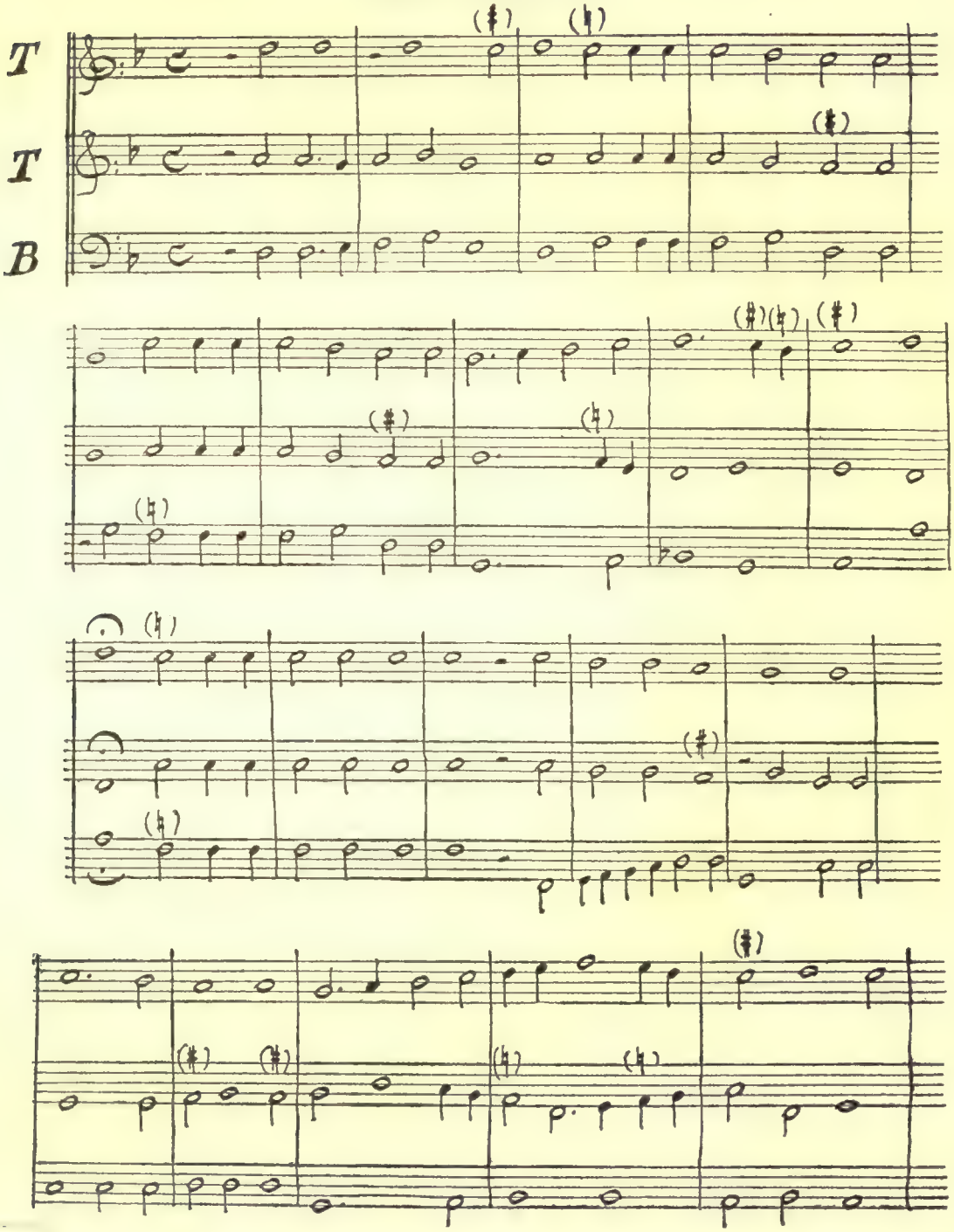
"*Pontiff, and it was much approved of by him and his Cardinals*
"*and was authenticated in perpetuity.*"[1]

Looking round the room we perceive numerous symbols of Music. Open on the ground in the right-hand corner, against the daïs of the table, stands a large folio, wherein we may distinctly read these musical notes:

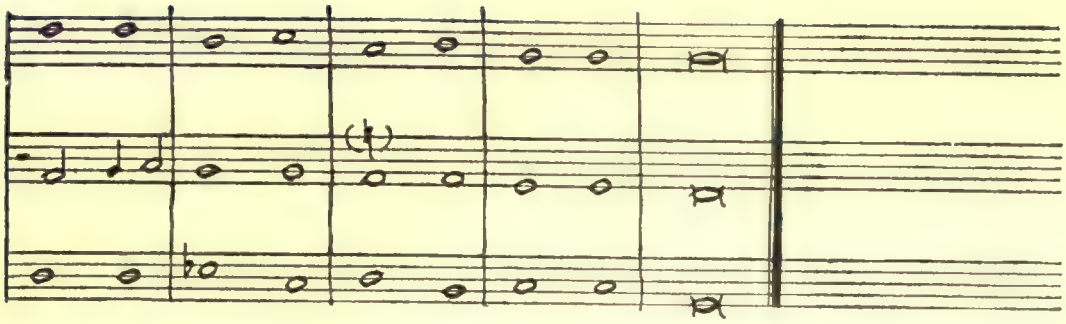


[1] *Theodosio imperatore sicome dice Joanne Bileth pregò Damasio Papa che commettesse alcuno huomo docto a esser ordinato lo ecclesiastico officio; egli dunque sapendo Hieronymo essere perfecto et*

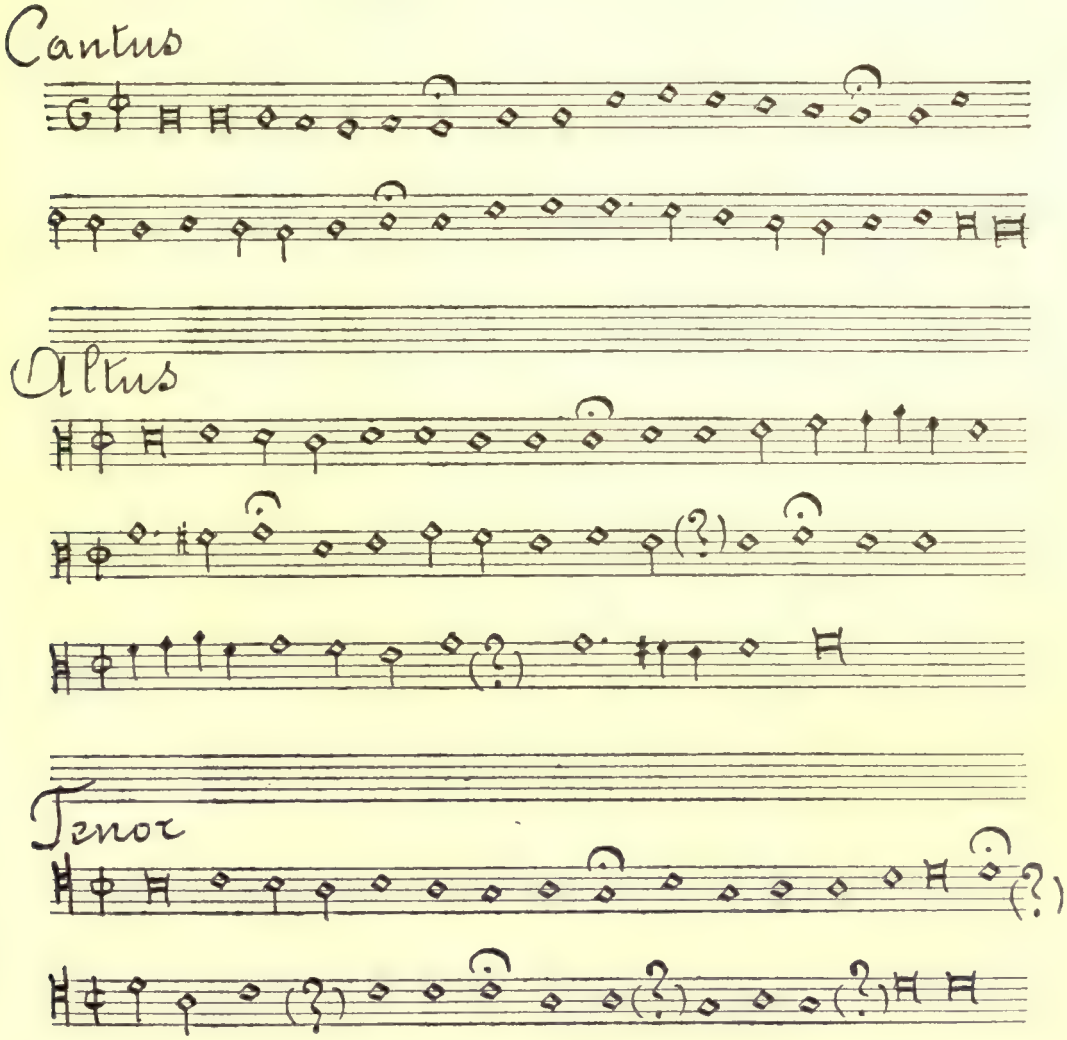
MODERN TRANSCRIPTION

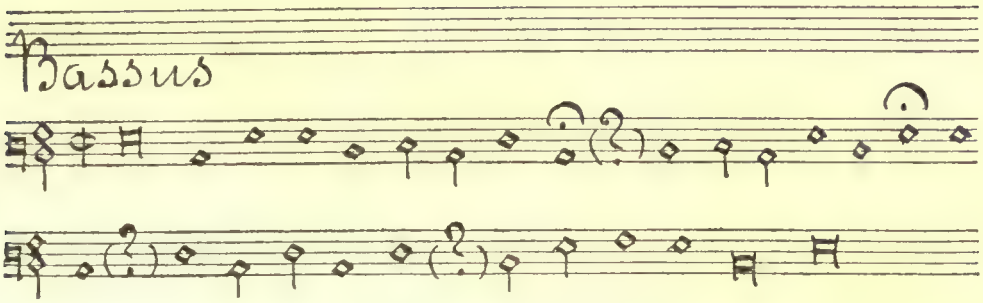


docto in lingua latina, greca et ebraica: et summo in ogni sapientia a lui commisse tal officio. *Hieronymo dunque distinxe el Psalterio per le ferie et a qualunque feria assegnò il proprio nocturno et instituì a esser dicto in fine di ciascun psalmo gloria patri: come dice Sigisberto. Dopo ordinò* a esser cantate *le epistole et li evangelii per tutto l' anno: et tutte l' altre cose pertinente al officio:* salvo che el canto; et mando quello de Bethleem al summo Pontifice et da lui dagli Cardinali suoi fu molto approbato; et in perpetuo autenticato,



Upon the step in a similar missal of a smaller size we can read these other notes :





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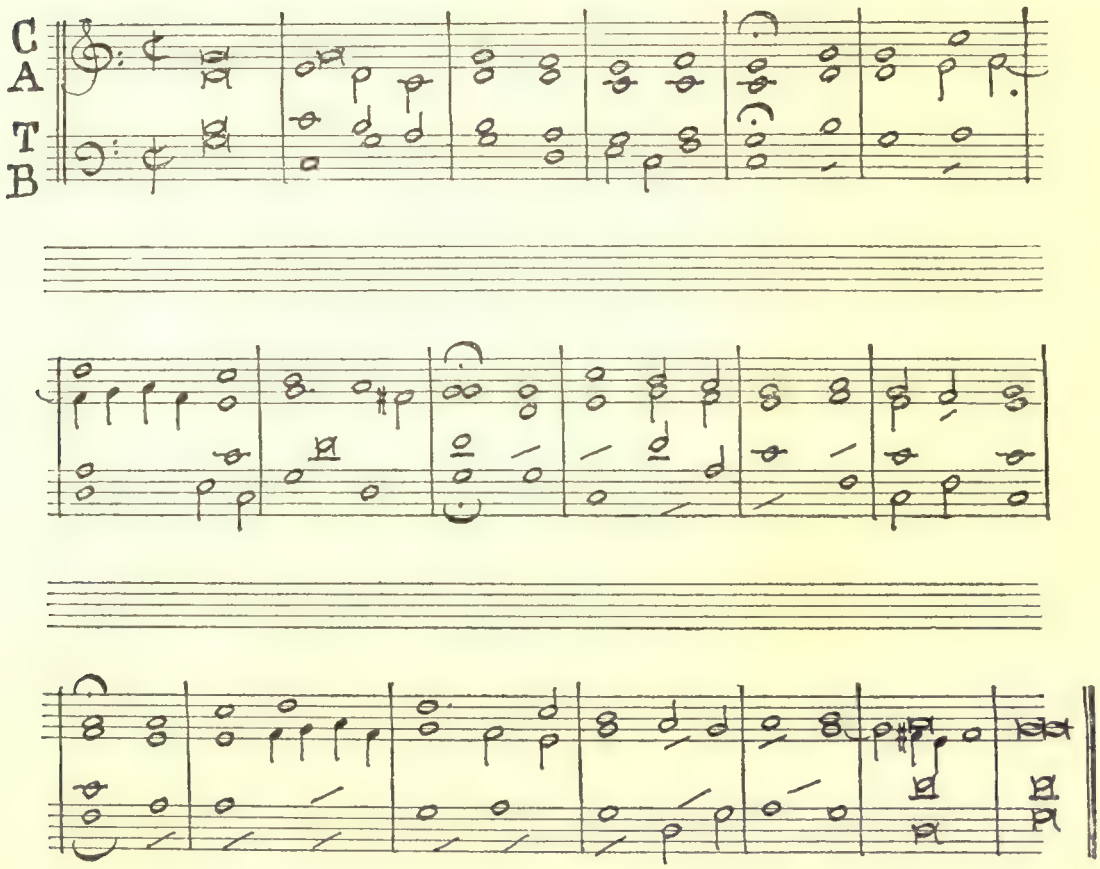


This score has been transcribed for us by Signor Cristofoli, chorister at the Basilica of S. Mark. In the larger missal the music, of an austere character, solemn and in perfect counterpoint, is in three leading parts, two tenors and a bass, written in the ancient style in the tenor clef, without divisions for the bars. In the second missal the music partakes of a more worldly style, and,

123 THE CONCERT. In the Harrach Collection, Vienna.

gracefully suave, is arranged for four voices: *cantus* (soprano), *altus*, *tenor*, and *bassus*. In a half-open missal on the left other notes are also faintly distinguishable.

We are reminded of another painting wherein a score is depicted so distinctly as to be legible. The *Maestro dalle mezze figure* presents the identical scene of *A Musical Recital* in three paintings; preserved in the Harrach Picture Gallery in Vienna, in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and in the Ducal Castle at Meiningen respectively. In the picture at Vienna not only the musical notes but even the words can be read, whereas in Carpaccio's canvas we have only the music, giving us no clue to the original composition.[1]

S. Jerome, seated at his table, with rapt countenance turned towards the window, holds his pen suspended in his right hand, as though listening to Divine Harmonies. The Saint, with brown hair and youthful mien, is perhaps presented as he might have been in 382, when he was Secretary to Pope Damasus in Rome. He wears a close-fitting cap, a red cassock and a white surplice, with an episcopal cape of a tawny colour. In the middle of the room watching the Saint,—instead of the traditional lion,—sits a lively little spaniel with its forepaws outstretched. All the surroundings bear the stamp of the refined taste and elegancies of Venetian homes, and, as though contrasting with this charming scene, the painting of another great artist is called to mind: Albrecht Dürer, who transposed the subject into another key, tinged by the bent of his genius and his race. There S. Jerome is writing in devout meditation and the faithful lion sleeps in a corner, whilst the apartment suggests a sense of tranquil and austere scholarship. In our opinion, Carpaccio's beautifully appointed chamber, portrayed in minutest and most curious detail, depicts one of those private oratories, so much in vogue among the Venetian magnates that their number had to be limited by law, in order that the public churches might not be deserted.

The scene has for us the value of a precious inventory of the contents of one of these oratories, illustrated by drawing and colour. An arch in the end wall between two doors encloses the altar niche with a mosaic of a cherub in the apse. The altar itself forms a cupboard, through the open door of which may be seen, disposed in order upon the shelves, an incense-boat, cruets and an alb. When the altar was used for Divine Service the doors were closed and a piece of silk, which we see draped on one side, fell over in the form of a frontal.

[1] In a painting of *Orpheus* by Honderkoeter at Belton House, co. Lincoln, various birds are holding music-books in such a way that both notes and words can be distinctly deciphered.

On a pedestal above the altar stands a statue of *The Redeemer holding the Banner of the Resurrection*, and on the slab itself are set out a mitre and a pair of brass candlesticks of a form peculiar to Venice, with a point (*a piron*) to hold the wooden candle-socket. Along the other two walls run cornices or ledges (*soaze*), under which are hung arras to keep out the cold; whilst upon them are placed a variety of objects: small vases, bowls, candles, two statuettes, a *Venus* and a horse, and one of those great astronomical spheres so much in fashion in Venice at that time, especially with physicians. Above the cornice to the left is a shelf, whereon are laid in a row several closed folio volumes with wooden covers; and above the shelf a lion's paw of carved wood supports a candlestick. Against the grey and uniform tint of the walls a rich coffered ceiling, adorned in the middle with gilded rosaces, offers a splendid contrast to the eye.

The table, before which the Saint sits on a bench, presents a remarkable appearance, resembling very much those dining-boards which the inventories describe as a "table to be set up for eating" (*tavola di magnar suso*). They were pieces of furniture, supported at one end on a bracket, and at the other by a metal tripod or foot (*trepiè*). Upon the table lie books, breviaries with handsome clasps, an inkstand, a bell, and a shell, called in old Inventories "a burnishing pig" (*porcella da lissar*), at that time an indispensable object to copyists for smoothing the erasures upon parchments.

The elbow-chair placed beside the wall to the left has attracted general attention. The frame of it is not as some would believe of metal, but of wood covered with red cloth studded with brass nails. Two knobs terminate the arms, and the four legs converge into a point in the centre. Our familiarity with the old-time Inventories of Venetian chattels induces us to believe that such seats were reserved in religious ceremonies for prelates of high degree, especially in patrician families, to which ecclesiastical magnates frequently belonged. We must not forget that we are in a chamber intended for an oratory, and "the episcopal equipage" (*carega episcopal*), as it was called, is placed, together with its faldstool (*scabelo*), upon a daïs so as to form a single piece of furniture. On days of solemnity the faldstool was covered with a piece of silk of liturgical colour, upon the seat was placed a cushion of gilded leather, and to that kind of ornamental head which surmounts the back was attached a canopy.

With a happy effect of chiaroscuro the painter shows us through the open door to the left of the altar the interior of a closet, used as a receptacle for scientific instruments. Upon a table

S. George and the Dragon.

stands one of those revolving lecterns (*lettorin*) so much in use with students in the Middle Ages, and often seen in early miniatures.

The Story of S. George is likewise told us in three scenes.

The Legend of the Saintly Warrior, held in such high honour in many lands, especially in Italy and in England, deals for the most part with the prowess of a knight who rescues a virgin from a dragon. The parallelism of the Legend with the ancient *Myth of Perseus and Andromeda* was recognized even in the Middle Ages, and is set forth with copious argument and learning by Messrs. Ruskin and Anderson. Christianity, as is well known, failed to destroy at a blow a Paganism which had its roots struck firm and deep into men's souls and habits. It endeavoured therefore to assimilate its teaching in a thousand ways. The Christians destroyed Pagan statues and monuments, sacked temples, and profaned tombs. Yet the Divinities of Greece and Rome outlived destruction, and when the ancient religion at last disappeared from the human conscience its traditions survived in History and inspired artistic ideals. In such guise were numerous Greek and Latin myths grafted upon legends of Christian Saints, and out of the *Story of Perseus* grew that of *S. George.*

The two English critics point out *inter alia* how the narrative of the battle fought by each of the two heroes is almost identical among Greeks and among Christians: even to the crowd of distant spectators on whom Carpaccio dwells with so much pleasure, and to the votive altars erected over the body of the monster, from which issues a "*stream of health.*"

Thus in the first scene Carpaccio represents the warrior, fully armed but bare-headed, mounted upon a steed in full career. The handsome golden-haired Christian Perseus drives his long lance into the open jaws of the dragon who, with sharp-pointed wings extended, makes ready to attack the maiden. She stands to one side with folded hands in an attitude of supplication. The monster crouches among skeletons, skulls, bones and other human fragments along with vipers, toads and salamanders, in a savage and desert spot redolent with the awful desolation of death. In the background, amid hills and palm-trees, stands a city of fantastic Oriental architecture. But the gate of the city beneath two massive round towers is really the gate of Cairo, copied by the painter from some early design. Above the gate between the tops of the two towers, we perceive a sort of wooden suspension-bridge or covered way, which now no longer exists.

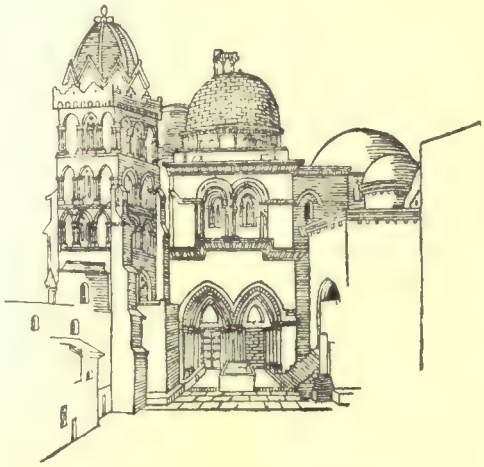
The second scene represents *The Triumph of S. George.*

The dying dragon is bound by a rope, which passes through

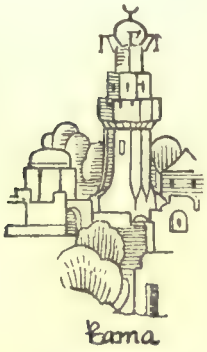
its jaws and the rent of the wound caused by the spear. S. George, grasping the cord with one hand, with the other raises his sword to deal the horrible monster its death-blow. A crowd of musicians and jubilant spectators press forward, arrayed in the most varied and brilliant colours. To the left are the King and Queen on horseback, surrounded by their court. The King, gorgeously attired in Oriental style, wears a black mantle flowered with yellow, and on his head an immense turban. The Queen's head only is visible, adorned with a crimson coif.

The so-called Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem.
Reuvich.

In the background we easily recognize the usual inspirations taken from Breydenbach's book. This is better seen however in a drawing in the Uffizi Gallery, which reproduces the painting with a few variations. In the centre of the composition rises a domed edifice like that called "Solomon's Temple" in Reuvich's drawing for Breydenbach's work, whence also Carpaccio drew for this picture the tower and façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. But in Carpaccio's painting the latter, instead of being surmounted by a cupola, terminates in a kind of slender minaret like that of the Mosque at Ramah, a town half-way between Jaffa and Jerusalem, where pilgrims were accustomed to pass the night. The Bergamasque painter, Alvise Donato, who flourished in Venice from 1528 to 1550, also adopted Reuvich's sketches for the panorama of Jerusalem with the Temple of Solomon and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which fill the background of his picture of *The Crucifixion*, now preserved in the Venice Academy.



The Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.
Reuvich.



The Mosque at Ramah.
Reuvich.

Carpaccio's borrowings from Reuvich are not limited to buildings but extend also to figures, as may clearly be seen in the drawing at the Uffizi. Reuvich most certainly inspired the two women,—one unveiled and the other wearing a high cap

125 GROUP OF SARACENS.
Detail from the Picture of "The Triumph of S. George."

126 SITE OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

127 DETAIL FROM A PICTURE OF "THE CRUCIFIXION."
By Alvise Donato. In the Academy, Venice.

128 THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AT JERUSALEM.

129 THE TRIUMPH OF S. GEORGE.

The two ladies in Oriental dress copied from Reuvich.

Tower of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Solomon's Temple. The Saracens. Copied from Reuvich.

SKETCH BY VITTORE CARPACCIO FOR "THE TRIUMPH OF S. GEORGE." In the Uffizi, Florence.

King Aga and his Court baptized by S. George.
By Vittore Carpaccio.

over which falls a veil upon a sort of box,—and a Saracen in characteristic costume: three figures which also reappear on other occasions in Carpaccio's paintings.

Absolutely fanciful and without any direct inspiration from Reuvich is the background of the last scene, *King Aia and his Wife baptized by S. George in the River Silenus in Libya.*

On the steps before the principal door of a shrine kneel the King and Queen in the act of receiving the Baptismal Rite at the hands of the Warrior Saint who, draped in a mantle, holds in his hand an embossed bronze vessel filled with water. Mr. Ruskin, his sharpness of vision tinged with a sense of humour, notices the striking attitude of the principal figure. He would seem to be the most precise and careful of all the Saints, even in the

ORIENTAL WOMEN.
Reuvich.

A SARACEN.
Reuvich.

smallest matters, since he draws back his mantle that the splashing of the water may not injure it. Around the steps, some upright and some kneeling, are grouped many figures in Oriental attire. A greyhound and a parrot complete the scene. To the left, upon a daïs covered with a handsome carpet, musicians, likewise clothed in Oriental garb, blow their trumpets and beat their drums.

But words fail to describe the play of colour and the brilliance of the light suffusing the scene. Tints of rose, violet, green, and aquamarine, the most vivid and most delicate combinations, mingle without the least effort in a unison of iridescent harmony. This sense of colour and purity of form can indeed be found in the work of other fifteenth-century painters; but what we seek for in vain with them is the unusual and powerful originality of the composition. Nor throughout the entire range of Italian Art can

we find more spontaneous, and at the same time more telling interpretation than this of the poetic Legend of the Saint who, passing near Silene in Libya, encounters the virgin, daughter of the King, offered up in sacrifice to the dragon, attacks the horrible monster, liberates the maiden, conducts her to the city, where King, Queen, and all the people, amid immense jubilation, are converted to the Faith of the Heroic Warrior.

The legend proceeds to tell how S. George, in distress at the persecutions of the Christians under the reigns of Diocletian and Maximian, laid down his armour, and, donning the preacher's gown, went forth into the public square to curse the false gods of Paganism. The Prefect Dacian wished to punish his boldness severely, but the most cruel torments by a Divine Miracle were of no avail and the Saint remained unmoved, whilst iron bills tore his body and blazing brands burnt his limbs. The most violent poisons had no power over him, flames would not burn him, the rack was broken to pieces. The Prefect then had recourse to flattery and prayers that George, abandoning his obduracy, would sacrifice to the idols. The Saint pretended to consent, but being conducted to the pagan temple knelt down, and, proclaiming his faith in Christ, invoked the fires of destruction on the dwelling of impiety and superstition. Immediately fire from Heaven fell upon the temple and destroyed it. Nevertheless the Prefect, unconvinced by these miracles, which he attributed to sorcery and magic, having dragged the Saint through the city, caused him to be beheaded. Thus S. George ended his glorious life. The various incidents of this legend were depicted by Carpaccio in another painting for the Winter Choir of the Monastery of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.

The Story of S. George is followed by *The Miracle of S. Tryphonius*, which appears to Mr. Ruskin light and pleasing as the summer air, iridescent as a morning cloud, more lovely far as a composition than the finest Titian or Veronese. Nevertheless the English critic in one of his paradoxical *dicta* shows more admiration for the splendid carpets hung out of the windows than for *S. Tryphonius and the Basilisk.*

"Was ever so simple a Saint, ever so absurd a beast?" asks the ingenious writer. Hagiographers tell us but little about S. Tryphonius.

Butler writes that Tryphonius and Respicius were born at Apamea in Bithynia, and, imprisoned during the Decian Persecution in A.D. 250, were dragged in chains to Nicæa and brought before Aquilinus, Governor of Bithynia and Prefect of the East. Threats and exhortations notwithstanding, they courageously confessed their faith in Christ and were burnt alive.[1]

[1] Butler, *Vite dei Padri, dei Martiri ecc.*, vol. xi., p. 108, Venice, tip. Emiliana, 1860.

S. Tryphonius exorcises a Devil in the Emperor's Daughter.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Chapel of the Schiavoni.

More copious in information on Ecclesiastical History is the Sclavonic Legend that tells how this Saint became the Patron of Cattaro.

It is a well-known fact that the remains and relics of Saints were much sought after by the Republic of Venice, who acquired them, trafficked in them, and even purloined them, as was the case with the body of S. Mark. This commerce in the remains of Saints and Martyrs continued for a long time, solemnly sanctioned by the Doge, magistrates and people. In the year 809 certain Venetian merchants journeying to Asia Minor, visited the Apamean plain at Campsade in Phrygia. Finding there the body of the Martyr Tryphonius, they carried it on board their vessel and weighed anchor for their own country. Off the Straits (*Bocche*) of Cattaro, they were overtaken by a violent storm which compelled them to seek shelter at Porto Rose, not far from Cattaro. Tradition relates that scarcely had the Holy Relic approached the City than all the bells in Cattaro pealed of their own accord. Another tradition, less devout but more probable, narrates that the Governor of the City, Andreaccio Saracenis, and the Great Council, having learnt the arrival of the precious burden carried by the ship that was sheltered in a neighbouring harbour, repaired to the Venetian merchants to treat with them for the acquisition of the body of S. Tryphonius.[1]

The ancient records report a dialogue between the Venetians and Andreaccio, who begins to speak thus: "I beg you, dearest friends, sell me the body of S. Tryphonius" (*Rogo vos amici carissimi, vendite mihi corpus Sancti Triphonis*). To which the Venetians reply: "If thou promisest to serve him with all your mind and affections we will sell him to you, and if not we will not give him to you"[2] (*Si tu promittis servire ei cum tota mente et amore, vendimus tibi, et si non, non dabimus tibi eum*).

It would seem that the promises were as satisfactory as the price, which was fixed at two hundred Roman soldi for the casket containing the Sacred Relics, and one hundred more for the jewelled crown that adorned it.

On January 13th, 809 the clergy and populace with psalms and religious hymns went down in ships to Porto Rose to receive their precious acquisition, which was thus borne to Cattaro; and immediately, at Andreaccio's expense, a shrine was commenced in honour of the Saint on the spot where the Cathedral now stands. Tryphonius thus became the Patron of Cattaro, the image of the

[1] Gelcich Giuseppe, *Marinarezza di Cattaro—Cenni Storici*, p. 4, e seg., Trieste, Bello & Co., 1872.

[2] *Instrumentum Corporis Nostri Gloriosi Gonfalonis Martyris Sancti Triphonis.* Gelcich *Storia documentata della Marinarezza Bocchese*, p. 79. Ragusa, 1889.

Saint adorned the Standard of the City and the Arms of the Republic, and, struck upon their coinage, his name was given to some of the coins themselves.[1]

In the Biblioteca Marciana there exists an account of S. Tryphonius in a parchment MS. dating from the year 1466, which once belonged to a certain Urbano Raffaelli.[2] The folio, painted with miniatures to the order of the noble family of Buccia of Cattaro, most probably at Cattaro itself rather than in Venice (as suggested by Prof. Gelcich), consists of two portions, and the Argument (*Explicit*), where some lines are struck out, runs as follows:

"Completed has been this book called patrician to the honour of God and Madonna S. Mary and completed . . . in 1466 on the 8th day of March was begun in the following book the legend of Messer Saint Tryphonius Martyr, ensign and protector of the city of Cattaro." (*Complito ha questo—libro chiamato paterzio al honor de Dio et de madona sancta maria et complito . . . . . in* 1466 *a di* 8 *de marzo Comenza in lo seguente libro lezendo de misier San Triphon martire confalon et protector de la citade de Cataro*).

The book describes the Life of S. Tryphonius, who from boyhood worked miracles, casting out devils from those possessed. The account of these exorcisms is accompanied by miniatures, remarkable for the beauty and brilliant colouring of the figures.

The last Miracle of S. Tryphonius is that represented by Carpaccio, and is thus narrated in the old MS.

"The Roman Emperor Gordian had a daughter, most wise in intellect and most beautiful of feature (*d' intelletto sapientissima et di faza bellissima*), who was possessed by a devil. No exorcism had any influence over this evil spirit, who refused to obey to leave the body of the girl, except at the invocation of the boy Tryphonius. To all judges and prefects throughout the Empire orders went forth to trace out the boy exorcist, who was found in his own village beside a river herding ducks (*contrata sua presso ad uno fiume pascolando anedre*). Tryphonius was brought to Rome, but the demon conscious of the Saint's approach began to complain that he could stay no longer in the girl (*potere oltra nela puta stari*), and fled away before the youthful prodigy arrived. The Emperor full of joy received Tryphonius, and begged him to call up the demon that had so greatly disturbed his daughter. Here the dialogue between the Saint and the demon presents us with such a naïve but vividly dramatic controversy that it would be a thousand pities not to reproduce the ingenuous words!

[1] Gelcich, loc. op. cit.
[2] *Miracoli di S. Trifone.* Cl. XI. It. Cod. 196.

"In the presence of the Emperor the Saint in a clear voice began to conjure that unclean spirit speaking thus: 'Of whatever sort you be I charge you, unclean spirit, in the name of my God that you come into my presence, hurting no one, and become visible to our sight'; and *Lo! immediately amid the crowd appeared a black dog with eyes of flame and drew its head along the ground*, of which Tryphonius demanded, saying, 'I tell you, demon, for what reason did'st thou enter into this maiden?' The demon answered, 'I marvel much that power is given to you over our race, seeing that you are not yet twelve years of age.' The child Tryphonius said to him, 'Do not doubt, but tell me how you came to enter this maiden.' The demon answered, 'My father commanded me that I should persuade her and then disturb her.' To which said the Saint, 'And who is your father?' The demon answered, 'He is called the Devil.' Then said Saint Tryphonius, 'Are not the Devil and Satan one and the same person?' The demon said, 'It is manifest that they are one being, who induces the minds of men so that they do not believe in God the Almighty Father and in Jesus Christ His Son, whom Peter and Paul preached in this city, and for the name of whom they suffered many torments and passed from this world to their Lord.' At this Saint Tryphonius said, 'Then your father has the power of giving thee right to enter in the likeness of God?' The demon answered, 'Our power prevails over those who, not knowing God, do our works.' Saint Tryphonius asked, 'And what are your works?' The demon answered, 'Our works are idolatry, murders, adulteries, blasphemy, avarice, envy, pride and every other work like these: our power is over those who commit such things.' Hearing these things the Emperor and all his friends who were in the palace, filled with joy remained stupefied, and many Gentiles were converted and believed in our Lord Messer Jesus Christ."

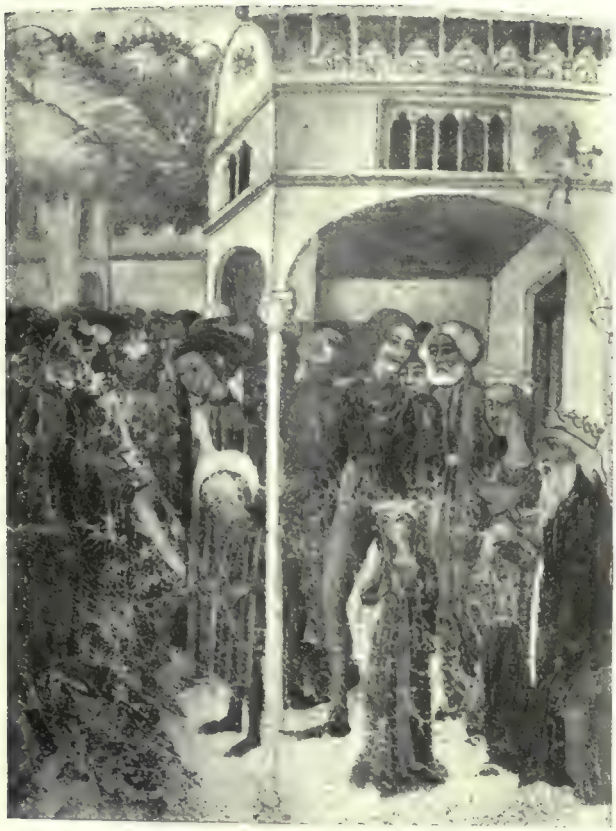
(*In pressenzia delo imperatore el sancto con clara voze comenzò a sconzurare quelo immondo spirito cussi dizendo: Sey de che condizion se voia a te spirito immondo io ti comando per parte del mio idio che vegnj in questa pressenzia a nulo nozendo et fate vissible al nostro vedere; et* echo subito fra la turba aparve uno chane negro qual aveva li ochi del fogo el capo per tera traeva, *el quale dimandò Triphone dizendo dico a te dimonio che cassione questa con questa puta che in lei entrasti; el dimonio rispose molto mi meraviglio chel te sia data potesta sopra la generazione nostra conzossia tu non abi anchora età de annj dodeze; el puto Triphone li disse non dubitare ma dime come tu entrasti dentro ala puta; rispoxe el dimonio mio patre mel comando ch'io dovesse quela suader et da poi conturbare; al quale disse el santo et chi è el patre tuo; el demonio rispoxe l' è nominato diavolo; alora disse el*

sancto Triphone diavolo et satanas non sono una cossa? disse el demonio manifesto he, che sono uno, però che luj induza la mente deli homeni azo non credano in Dio patre omnipotente et in Jhesu Cristo suo fiuolo el quale Pietro e Paulo in questa zitade predicarono et per lo nome del quale sostenero molti tormenti et passarono da questo mondo al signore; disse ad quelo sancto Triphone adoncha el patre tuo ha potestate de darti locho de intrare ne la imagine de dio; el demonio rispoxe la potestate nostra in queli prevale i quali idio non cognoscendo fazano l' opere nostre; Sancto Triphone disse et quale sono l' opere vostre; rispose il demonio l' opere nostre sono idolatria i omizidi adulteri biastemie avarizia invidia superbia et hogni altra operazione simile ad queste la potestate nostra e sopra questi quali queste cosse simile cometono. Aldando queste cosse lo imperatore et tutti i suoi amizi quali nel suo palazo si trovavano repleti de alegreza stavano stopefacti et molti dei gentili se convertiro, et credettero al nostro signor missier Jhesu Christo).[1]

The miniature which illustrates this miracle shows us under the handsome portico of the palace the Emperor, Empress, and many personages, whilst the Saintly Child argues with the demon, who according to the legend "changed itself into a dog with eyes of flame" (*si tramuto in un cane con gli occhi di fuoco*) on issuing from the body of the young princess, who stands upright in the centre of the picture with hands folded as though rapt in ecstasy. Examining this miniature side by side with the Legend we shall easily see how inaccurately Carpaccio's work has hitherto been described. It does not represent *S. Tryphonius killing the Basilisk*, but rather *The Emperor's Daughter liberated from a Demon.*

The scene in Carpaccio's painting resembles the miniature. The Emperor is seated under a handsome portico. Beside him is his daughter with folded hands and serene expression, tranquil yet not ecstatic. Opposite stands the Boy Saint, who has exorcised the demon, changed not into a "dog with eyes of flame," but into a *basilisk*—the absurd heraldic animal that calls forth the humour of Mr. John Ruskin. On the square, at the foot of a flight of steps magnificently inlaid with marble arabesques like Rizzo's Ducal staircase, are grouped a variety of personages, probably the Brethren of the Scuola degli Schiavoni robed in picturesque Venetian garments. In the background Venice, welcoming already the glories of the Renaissance, displays her splendid edifices pierced with windows of the most varied architectural style, and filled with the fairest ladies, and her *loggie* and porticoes adorned with gorgeous tapestries, hung over window-sills and balustrades.

[1] Pp. 97, 98, and 99 of the Codex.



133 MIRACLE OF S. TRIFONA.
Miniature from a Codex of the Year 1466, "Biblioteca Marciana."

CHAPTER VIII

THE ALBANIANS, THEIR SCUOLA IN VENICE, AND CARPACCIO'S PAINTINGS

JUST as the Breton people are the ultimate survival of the great Celtic nation of Europe, so the Albanians are the last branch of that great Illyrian family who had their earliest home to the North of the Balkan Peninsula.

In Greco-Roman antiquity the name of Illyricum or Illyris denoted that region which to-day embraces Montenegro and Upper and Middle Albania. Lower Albania was called Epirus as it is in our days.[1] The valleys of Albania and the shores of the limpid Adriatic re-echo yet with the plaint of old-time legends and the clash of warlike deeds. Here Greek Mythology placed the Acheron, the Cocytus, the Elysian Fields, Mount Cassiopeus, the Pindus Range, the Acroceraunian Mountains, and the Sacred Forest of Dodona. On these plains fought Philip and Alexander, Kings of Macedon and Conquerors of Epirus. From these shores sailed for Italy Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, one of the most valiant captains of antiquity. Here the Romans waged the long wars which finally brought Illyricum and Epirus under their sway.

After the partition of the Roman Empire between Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius (A.D. 395), Albania, subject to the Emperors of Byzantium, was invaded, overrun, and at intervals partly conquered by Goths, Serbs, Croats, Bulgars and Normans up to the time of the Fall of Constantinople (1453).

In the division of the possessions of the Byzantine Empire, the Venetians who, as early as the eleventh century, had cast their glances upon Albania, chose the seaboard and Epirus, securing besides many other convenient trading-places along the shore, and also the City of Durazzo. But the Venetian dominion was neither prolonged nor undisturbed, and the Despots of Epirus reconquered

[1] Galanti, A., *L'Albania*, p. 79. Rome, 1901.

Albania, which afterwards fell under the yoke of Angevins, Bulgars, and Serbs, and of divers Albanian families who amid the revolutions that shook the land succeeded in becoming masters of certain districts.[1]

In 1383 the Ottoman Turks, greedy of conquest, made their first appearance in Albania. Several of the Dynasts turned then to Venice who, opposing a strong resistance to the Ottoman invasion, succeeded little by little in establishing her mild and sagacious rule over a great portion of the country in such a manner that the first quarter of the fifteenth century saw the Republic mistress of Scutari, Alessio, Durazzo, Valona, Dulcigno, and the entire coast of Antivari as far as the Bocche di Cattaro. These possessions were controlled by Venice through her own governors, who respected always local privileges; whilst the rest of Albania was ruled by numerous chieftains, either altogether independent—as was the case of certain mountaineer tribes—or under the sovereign protection, now of Venice now of the Turk, who slowly but surely extended his dominion over the country.[2]

Before succumbing beneath the Ottoman yoke, the Albanian nation once succeeded in uniting the national valour in a supreme effort under the leadership of Giorgio Castriota, surnamed Scanderbeg, who fought the Turk and, rushing from victory to victory, spread dismay amid his enemies. But in 1467 Scanderbeg died, and with him fell the fortunes of his country.[3]

Venice looked for Castriota's inheritance. Her first suspicions dispersed, she had not been sparing of assistance and distinction, and to Scanderbeg's son, who shortly before the death of his father had come to Venice, the Signoria presented a *robe of* (cloth of) *gold and other gifts to the value of* 100 *to* 150 *ducats*.[4] In the Albanian cities subject to the dominion of S. Mark the patriots, who had fought for liberty, gathered trustfully around the Republic, who was unceasing in her efforts to secure with gifts the goodwill of the people of Albania; and prepared, by force or stratagem to resist the threats and attacks of the Turk emboldened by success.[5] Unaided by other Christian nations

[1] Galanti, op. cit. *passim*.

[2] Id. ibid. pp. 129-34.

[3] Biemmi, *Ist. di Giorgio Castriota, detto Scanderbeg*. Brescia, 1742. Barbarich, *Albania*. Rome, 1905.

[4] *Regesti Albanesi* del Cecchetti, *Senato, Mar*. vii. 142.

[5] On February 6th, 1469 the Republic added three fresh horses to those which they had given already to Nicolò Moneta, Voivode in Scutari, for his fidelity and the importance of his services (*Reg*. cit. *Senato, Mar*. ix. 31). And in the years 1472 and 1473 the Ten sent with profoundest secrecy letters and instructions to Leonardo Boldù, Provveditore of Albania and Count of Scutari, renewing great promises to Mahmut Pasha in the event that he, as was his intention, should attack the City and Empire of Constantinople. (*Reg*. cit. *Misti*. C. X. *Zonta*. xvii. 181; xviii. 5 e 5 t°, 6, 7).

Venice was herself in the end constrained to try the fortunes of war, and manfully opposed the enemy, who in 1474 with a formidable army under the command of Suleiman Pasha laid siege to Scutari.

Whilst Antonio Loredan courageously repelled the assault Tradiano Gritti at the mouth of the Boiana put the Turkish army to flight. But the siege of Scutari was fiercely prolonged and so bitterly was the want of food felt that Loredan, baring his breast to the people who called upon him to surrender, answered: "Very well! Here is my flesh and blood. Satiate yourselves on that, but continue the defence." The defence continued with such vigour and tenacity that the Turk was constrained to withdraw.

Such a victory greatly pleased both the Government and the people; and Venice resounded with the echoes of joyous festivity. The Senate did not fail to remember the brave men,—even the humblest,—who had contributed to the triumph; such as one Fra Bartolomeo of Venice and a Fra Paolo of Emethia, Minorite monks, who in the assault of the Turks on Scutari had captured several of the enemy's standards.

This defeat did not, however, discourage the Ottoman foe, who in May 1477 with an army of 150,000 fighting men, led by the same Sultan Mahomet II., reduced Croia by famine, stormed Alessio and Drivasto, and once more invested Scutari, which was then defended by the Provveditore, Antonio da Lezze, and again resisted with indomitable courage. But with the city at the point of capture, without ammunition or food, Venice sued for peace, and Scutari in 1479 capitulated to the Turk, the lives of its defenders being spared. The Venetians remained for some time longer masters of the coast-towns, but the Ottoman power held uncontested sway over Albania. Some of those Albanians who would not bend to the yoke of the oppressor took refuge in the mountainous regions of their own land, whilst others migrated to Venice, to Calabria, or to Sicily, seeking the protection of Alfonso V. of Naples, Scanderbeg's most faithful ally.

To all those who had upheld, along with the independence of their own country, the honour of the Standard of S. Mark, the Venetian Republic granted freely arable lands and posts of honour and emolument. The grants made to the Albanian families who sought safety in the Lagoons afford fresh proof of the paternal wisdom and bounty of the Venetian Government towards its subjects. "It was a just and proper thing"—say the Governors in their Decrees—"to give such assistance to these people from

[1] *Reg.* cit. *Sen. Mar.* x. n. 59.

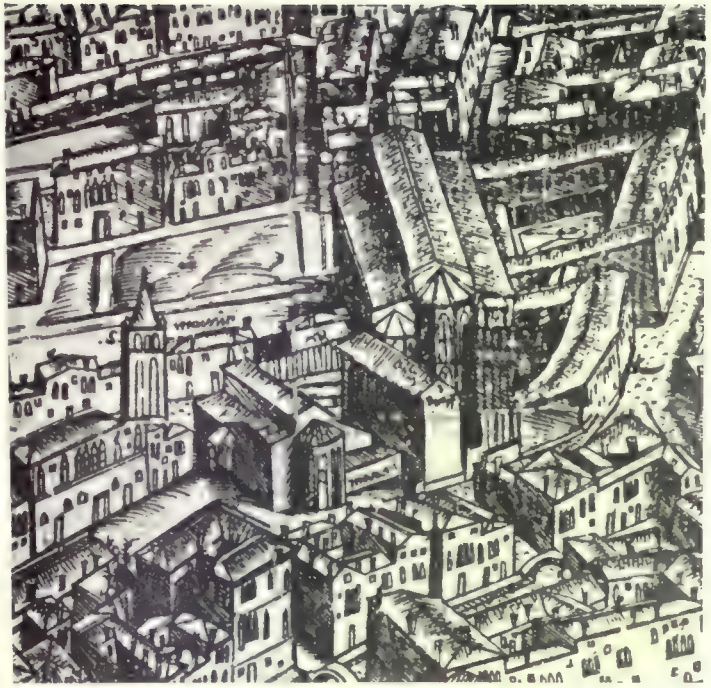
Scutari who have come hither that in the sight of God and of all the world our State cannot be justly calumniated; and because in their distress they look to us to make for them such provision as may be reasonable." (*Era iusta e conveniente cossa dar tal expedition a questi Scutarini venuti qui, che al conspecto del nostro Signor Dio et apresso tutto el mondo el Stato nostro non possi iustamente esser caluniato, e che loro povareti intendano per nui esserli facte quelle provision che sono rexonevole.*)[1]

Protected by the Government and assisted by private benevolence, the prosperity of the Albanian guests increased, and their appearance in the handsome costumes, which they wear to this day, struck a bright and picturesque note amid the Venetian populace. They carried on a profitable trade in oil and also in woollen fabrics, and in short they grew so much in numbers and importance as to give their name to various streets in the city.[2]

But even before misfortune had overwhelmed their country, and from the time when the Venetian sovereignty was supreme in many Albanian towns, no small a number of that industrious and energetic race had found hospitality in Venice. From October 22nd, 1442 onwards their fellow-countrymen met at S. Severo, where a monastery dedicated to S. Gallo had been founded in 810; and this great English Saint (born 551, died 646), —who later took Switzerland for his country,—was chosen by the Albanians as the Patron of their Scuola, together with the Madonna *del Buon Consiglio*, called by them "Our Lady of Scutari," the Protectress of Albania. When in 1447 this Albanian sodality moved to the church of S. Maurizio, where they had an altar and a burial-place for their members, S. Maurizio also was venerated as the third patron of the Scuola. From de Barbaris' plan alone do we know the shape of the ancient church of S. Maurizio, erected according to the chronicles in 699 by the Candiano family, but demolished in 1590 and rebuilt. But even

[1] *Arch. di Stato. Senato, Mar.* 28 Giugno, 1479. Some of these curious provisions may be noted. In December 1478 pensions are assigned to certain widows of men of Scutari who fell during the siege. In May 1479 the post of *massaro* (steward) being vacant in certain offices in Venice it is directed that Scutarine emigrants, or Venetians who had suffered during the last siege, shall be appointed. In July of the same year arrangements were made regarding certain men from Scutari who had been sent into the fortresses of the Friuli, and to carry out the directions of the Government five Savi were chosen. In August pensions were granted to the families from Scutari and Drivasto, who had lost their breadwinners and their goods, and a monthly allowance was made to the three sons of Coia Humri, killed during the siege (*Regesti* cit. *Senato, Mar.* xi. 3, 22 t, 57, 37 t, 43 t). These provisions continue during the following years. In September 1480 five more Savi were elected to execute the orders issued in favour of the Scutarine and Drivastine emigrants, to whom were granted lands in the Friuli and relief. In July 1489 it was decreed that the subsidy to the widows of the citizens of Scutari and Drivasto should be continued for another five years: and in July 1492 money was sent for the fortifications at Cattaro, etc. (*Reg.* cit. *Senato, Mar.* xi. 84.—*Senato, Terra*, x. 153.—*Senato, Mar.* xiii. 90).

[2] There are a variety of streets in Venice, which have taken their names from the Albanians who have dwelt in them. Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, p. 11. Venezia, 1887.



134 Old Church of San Maurizio. From De Barbaris' Plan

135 The Church of San Maurizio. Rebuilt in 1590.
From a Picture in the Sacristy of the Church.

136 The Church of San Maurizio. Rebuilt in 1806.

of this building traces only remain in a picture which still hangs in the sacristy and shows the church as a very different structure from that which now stands in the Campo di S. Maurizio. This second church having been destroyed in 1806, a new one was erected according to the design of the patrician Zaguri, who wished the interior to be an imitation of Sansovino's church of S. Geminiano. Antonio Selva and Antonio Diedo built the façade, which bears the stamp of that cold Neo-Classic style, so much in vogue in Venetian architecture at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The front of the new building and its principal door are on the Campo, whereas in the building of 1590 both looked towards the street or *calle.*

A painting on panel which adorned the altar of the Albanians in the first church of S. Maurizio as early as 1477, has now disappeared, but it was still in position in the eighteenth century, since *La Cronica Veneta sacra e profana* (Venezia, Pitteri, MDCCXXXVI) mentions on p. 250: "The altar [piece] of the Blessed Virgin and S. Gall in ancient painting belongs to the Albanians, or Epirotes, whose Confraternity is one of the most ancient" (*L'altar della B. V. e di S. Gallo in pittura antica è degli Albanesi, o Epiroti, la confraternita de' quali è delle più antiche*).

To the end almost of the fifteenth century the Albanians held their religious meetings in the sacristy, near the altar of S. Maurizio, and they retained unchanged the pious and simple customs ordained by their first Confraternity at S. Severo in 1442.

The Mariegola, compiled and rearranged at various periods, does not change substantially,[1] and manifests that discretion and practical judgment with which like the others the Scuola degli Albanesi was governed:—one of those several religious and charitable associations that prospered in Venice, fostering a moral life and domestic and friendly ties among humble households.

This national confraternity commends its welfare to the protection of the Most Holy Mary, S. Maurice and S. Gall. The Brethren lay under the obligation of saying one *Pater Noster* to their Patron Saints; bad language was punished by a money fine, and blasphemy was expelled. The Brethren and Sisters are ordered to attend Divine Service on Feast-days, and the *Gastaldo* and his Companions in office shall be present at the *Missa Cantata* at the altar of the Patron Saints every third Sunday in the month, and at the Mass for the dead celebrated every week for the souls of the deceased Brethren. The Gastaldo and the officers on the

[1] The first copy of the Mariegola dated back to 1552, but it was injured by daily use and destroyed: another drawn up in the eighteenth century is the one to be found in the *Archivio di Stato* (*Provved. di Comune, Sest. di S. Marco*, vol. ii.-U, n. 279, f. 33 t.). An incomplete extract from the old Mariegola is also preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana (MSS. It. Cl. VII. n. 737).

Vigil of S. Gallo shall each offer a candle of the *value of one soldo* bought with the money of the Society, in order that "our "most pious Lord Jesus Christ may give so much grace to this "Scuola, that it may prosper better than it has done up to this "time and have some staple property, such as houses, lands, etc." (*nostro Piissimo Sig^r. Giesù Christo dia tanta gracia a questa Scuola che la prosperi meglio di quello che fin ad hora ha fatto et habbia qualche beni stabili, come sono case, possessioni, etc.*). To the honour of God always and to follow the example of the other confraternities they agree to receive into the Community without payment of any tax two or four pipers to play at the religious festivals. All the Brethren from fifteen years of age upwards can have bread (free): all shall assist in carrying the dead when so commanded by the Gastaldo: no one may refuse an office to which he may be elected. "Since appetites vary, some like black and some white" (*varj sono gl' appetiti, chi vuole il bianco e chi è amante del nero*), it is resolved that as soon as the Gastaldo is elected he must take the oath under the hands of a priest and then give a guarantee for the money deposited in his custody. The Brethren and Sisters are bound to pay a due, called *luminaria*, which in 1451 was fixed at ten soldi per annum for the men and five for the women, and another rate for bread and candles. Every one moreover must write his name upon a boxwood tally (*tolesella di bosso*): exception being made for persons of rank, who inscribed their names in a book instead; and all the Brethren on every third Sunday in the month and on every solemn feast-day are compelled under penalty of a fine to make an offering of alms, taking a receipt therefor. Other offerings for the poor are recommended to the Brethren who, before entering upon the marriage state or starting upon a journey, must confess their sins and receive the Communion.

A resolution of April 10th, 1454 *nel tempo del discretto e pru dente homo sier Piero de Zorzi gastaldo*, by which it was ordained that the Gastaldo and the Vicario could only be Albanians, manifests as it were a tendency among the majority of the Brethren to form a kind of close national aristocracy; and another decision of August 25th, 1476, when *Zuane Bianco marçer* was Gastaldo, shows how already the Scuola had attained to a certain degree of wealth, and sought to emulate the magnificence of other similar societies by adorning in most worthy manner their patronal altar in S. Maurizio. They resolved in addition to take money from the common chest and to borrow from the Brethren the amount required to complete a Cross, to be made by the goldsmith, Maestro Antonello. We do not know what eventually became of this valuable example of the goldsmith's art, which was

probably similar to the Processional Cross made of wood and crystal with graceful little figures in silver gilt, belonging to the Scuola of S. George of the Dalmatians. In 1501 mention is made of another Cross of this kind: a framework of wood containing three pieces of crystal and mounted in silver-gilt richly chased, with a silver-gilt knob and handle also finely engraved. This cross was a gift from Luca Moneta, perhaps a relative of Nicolò Moneta, Voivode of Scutari.[1] But it likewise disappeared since a valuation of their chapel plate shows that in 1762 the Albanians had only one Cross and that of no great value.

In the meanwhile, Scutari having fallen, the great migration of Albanians occurred, and the burial-place at S. Maurizio being no longer sufficient, it was resolved in July 1491 to acquire two sepulchral vaults in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. On September 5th a deed was executed "for the concession of a certain piece of land which lies in the cemetery of S. Ursula, near the door of the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo" (*per la concessione d' un certo terreno al luoco, che giace nel Cimiterio di Sant' Orsola appresso la porta della chiesa dei San Giovanni e Paolo*), wherein to construct these two vaults.

The Albanians, having now become Venetian by affinity and residence, led the life of their adopted country and shared in the festivities of the Republic, as is proved by a resolution of July 22nd 1497, which directed "that all the priests who were to take part in "the *Procession of S. Vito* should come in their cottas."

The day of S. Vito, on which the Republic used to commemorate the victory over the conspiracy of Baiamonte Tiepolo, was one of the principal festivals of Venice. Every year on the 14th of June the Doge visited the church of SS. Vito e Modesto, accompanied in solemn procession by the Signoria, the magistrates, the six great Scuole, the Congregations of the clergy and the Chapter of the Canons of S. Mark's. Upon the conclusion of the sacred services the Doge and his train returning to the Palace, where a sumptuous repast was prepared, crossed the Grand Canal by a bridge of boats, and passing by S. Maurizio were welcomed with great pomp by the Albanians, who decorated the Campo with so much magnificence as to "convert it into a pleasure-garden or theatre of solemnity."[2] The Brethren of the Scuola afterwards met at a banquet.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century the Confraternity, it would seem, had obtained at least some portion of those riches which they had sought of God; and the Brethren, no longer content with an unpretending altar in the church of S. Maurizio, con-

[1] See note 5 on p. 142.
[2] Coronelli, *Guida de' Forestieri sacro-profana.* Venezia, 1706.

templated meeting together in a larger and more convenient locality.[1]

The parish priest of S. Maurizio, with the license of the Bishop of Castello, Lorenzo Giustiniani, had as early as 1448 rented to the Scuola a lease in perpetuity at three gold ducats per annum, of *dua Albergia sive duas Cameras*, which were taken to construct the enlarged Scuola. The building already existed in 1489, and it is clearly by mistake that De Barbaris' plan of 1500, which distinctly shows the church of S. Maurizio, does not show the new Scuola built in between the church and the campanile.[2] The structure had a narrow frontage, was very deep in proportion, and stood immediately against the church of S. Maurizio. The façade, of which only the doors and window-frames were of Istrian stone and the rest of brick, looked on to the *Calle del Piovan* in a straight line with the church. On the other side were the chaplains' houses, which extended to the neighbouring canal of S. Maurizio and as far as the adjacent convent of S. Stefano. In the centre of the building up to a few years since

[1] In 1497, at paragraph n. 113 of the Mariegola, we read: "In the time of that discreet and "prudent man Sier Bernardino Strazzaruolo, Gastaldo, and of his Companions ballot was cast in "the Chapter with forty-eight for and nine against that the Scuola should be built on that piece "of ground of the church of S. Maurizio situated in the Campo with the almshouses of the "poor; and that many brethren of the Scuola should increase their alms in order to build this "said Scuola with a small hostel, which shall be to the Glory of God, of His Mother the Virgin "Mary and of Missier S. Gallo, and for the Albanian nation; that even the Armenians have their "own hostel, and we have none. This thing will be most pleasing to God and to this glorious "State, and will be most useful to our poor, and will be to the perpetual memory and honour of "our nation; and also in this Scuola we shall lodge our Cross and all our belongings, that they "may be in a safe place, and will save us much expense, which thing will greatly benefit our poor. "And he that hath commenced this thing hath done well, because many Brethren will give us "alms, who do not do so now. And when the Prince's Serenity shall pass by on the day of S. Vito "with our illustrious Signoria of Venice, he will see this Scuola, whereby there will always be "praise and honour for all of us Albanians. And what is said regarding the piece of ground "belonging to the church of S. Maurizio may be said also of any place notwithstanding, wherever it "shall please the Gastaldo and his Companions, and likewise the twelve Brethren of the said Scuola "to purchase it, and to build as it shall please the greater number of them, whether on the land "of the church, or on that which may please them, and so act for the future."

(*Nel tempo del discretto et prudente homo sier Bernardino Strazzaruolo Gastaldo, et de suoi compagni Parte presa in Capitolo a ballote quaranta otto de si, et in contrario hebbe ballote nove, che si debbia far fare la Scuola sopra quel terreno della Chiesa di S. Maurizio posto sopra il Campo, con le Casette delli poveri, et assai fratelli della Scuola sporgeranno di l' elimosina per far detta Scuola con l'Hospedaletto, che sarà ad honor di Iddio, e della sua Madre Vergine Maria, et di Missier San Gallo, et della nation degli Albanesi, che insin gl' Armeni hanno il suo Hospedaletto, et noi non lo havemo, la qual cosa sarà molto grata a Dio, et a questo glorioso Stado, et sarà grandemente utile alli poveri nostri, et sarà in perpetua memoria, et honor della Nation, et etiamdio in questa Scuola si allogarà la nostra Croce, et tutti li nostri Arnesi, perchè sarà in luogo sicuro, et sarà sparagno di molte spese, qual cosa sarà in beneficio delli nostri poveri et questo che diede simil principio ha fatto bene, perchè molti fratelli farano la elimosina, che non la fanno, et quando la Serenità del Principe passerà il giorno di San Vido con l' Illus^ma^. Signoria Nostra di Venezia, vederà questa Scuola, donde che sarà sempre laude et honore di tutti li Nostri Albanesi, et perchè dove si dice dello terreno della Chiesa di Santo Mauricio, si dice ancora non ostante dove piacerà al Gastaldo, et agli soi Compagni et similmente alli dodeci fratelli die detta Scuola di far mercato appresso di loro, et fabricare, come a quelli per la maggior parte piacerà, o sia qual terren della Chiesa, o sia quello, che a lora piacerà, e così si farà per l' avenire.*)

[2] We have another example of a Scuola built between a church and its campanile in the Scuola *dei Tagliapietra* (stone masons) at S. Apollinare.

there was a small picturesque courtyard with a well in the centre and wooden galleries all round covered with climbing vines. From the court three doorways led to the street, to a water-gate upon the canal, and to the church of S. Maurizio. The Scuola properly so called occupied the front part of the long building; then came the staircase, and beyond that the lodging of the parish priest. On the ground floor, badly lighted, was the so-called *Albergo da basso* with a stone altar, as we learn from the Mariegola. In the Scuole the *Alberghi da basso* were generally used for the celebration of Masses for the dead, and a well-preserved example of such a place may still be seen in the Scuola dell' Angelo Custode, now the Evangelical Church of the Holy Apostles.

The entrance to the Scuola of the Albanians was in the centre, and on either side was a window with artistically designed gratings. A doorway opened in the back wall to the left of the Altar; behind which a staircase led to the *Albergo di sopra*, where the entrance was instead to the right of the altar, and light was given by two windows on the street side. In this upper chamber ordinary Masses were celebrated, meetings were held, and elections took place.

In 1500 the decoration of the Scuola was commenced by making "the ceiling of the Upper Chamber with the *ruoxe*"—i.e. rosaces upon the caissons, i.e. squares—(*il soffittato dell' Albergo di sopra con le sue ruoxe sopra li quadri*). And between 1501 and 1502 the floors and ceilings of the rooms on the ground and first floors were laid and constructed. The Brethren spared no expense to adorn their abode, and on May 13th, 1502 they appropriated "beyond all the other expenditure customary and usual which occur throughout the year up to the amount of ten gold ducats," an extra sum for the new building and for any other thing that may be of benefit and utility to the Scuola.

The magnificent Cross "enriched with silver and of great value," which was sometimes lent out, is guarded with the most jealous care, and on March 20th, 1503, "in the time of that discreet and prudent man *Sier Zuan Nicolò Zimador Gastaldo*," it is thus ordained: "We are quite willing that the Gastaldo together with his Companions should have leave to lend the Thurible and the Incense Boat to the Reverend Messer our Parish Priest for the day of his Festa, but we are not willing to lend the aforesaid Cross under any circumstances to any one in the world."

But far more precious Works of Art than the Cross were soon about to adorn the Meeting-Hall of the Albanians.

Although the Mariegola does not say so we know for a certainty that in 1504 Carpaccio received the commission to paint for the Upper Chamber a number of scenes from *The Life of the Virgin*, since upon the painting of *The Annunciation* there

is written: *In tempo de Zuane de Nicolò Zimador e soi compagni MCCCCCIIII del mese d' Aprile.*

Probably Zuan di Nicolò, a cloth-dresser by trade, caused these paintings to be executed as a memorial of his nomination to the Office of *Gastaldo*, to which he had been elected on March 25th, the Feast of the Annunciation.[1] And the newly elected official caused his name to be inscribed upon the scene which represents *The Annunciation.*

That Carpaccio should have been chosen as the painter will appear obvious if we bear in mind that the Albanians not only would have seen proof of Vittore's genius in the Scuola di S. Orsola, —where as has been seen they owned two sepulchral vaults,—but they could likewise have admired a series of paintings by this

[1] In Chapter 135 of the Mariegola we read: "In the time (24th March, 1503) of that "discreet and prudent man sier Nicolò, cloth-dresser, Gastaldo, of sier Andrea di Piero, trunk-"maker, Vicario, and their Companions. To the end that every brother of this our Scuola, "as much of the honours, as of the burdens must take his part. And his part shall be from now "until the election of the Gastaldo, Vicario, and officers which shall take place in this way, "that is to say:

"That on the first Sunday before the day of the Annunciation of the Madonna in March the "Gastaldo must assemble his officers in the Scuola, and there, assembled in the Upper Chamber "of the Scuola, cause to be celebrated the Mass of the Holy Spirit, invoking Divine Aid "to inspire the hearts of the elector-brethren, so that they may elect a good Gastaldo and "one able to govern the property of the Scuola; which election shall take place in the following "manner:

"When the Mass of the Holy Spirit is finished the priest, robed in his sacerdotal vestments, "shall give the Sacrament to each of the electors, as is ordained in the 24th Chapter of this "Mariegola, and in such election no regard is to be had for friends or relatives, but only "according to conscience, electing a faithful and honest Gastaldo of good report, who may "be fit for this holy and divine office, that the property of this Scuola be not badly administered "or left to go to ruin, and then shall the Gastaldo, the Vicario, and the officers take the oath, "and having done this the Gastaldo shall sit in the first and most honourable place on the "Bench, the Vicario and his Companions in their usual degrees according to their seniority "and dignity; and all present seated in order may elect two or three Gastaldi, one of whom "shall then remain who shall seem most suitable to the greater number of the Bench; and the "same order shall be observed in the election of the Vicario, two or three Vicarii being elected, "and the one who shall seem most fitted for this office shall be confirmed as Vicario; and "no one can be elected Gastaldo or Vicario who has not been at least three times on the Bench. "And if by chance any one persist despite the decision of this point he shall not be allowed "to remain on any account; and if the old Gastaldo does not choose to eject the said Gastaldo "or Vicario elected contrary to the tenor and form of this present agreement, the said five Syndics "are permitted to turn him out of such office, the ballot being made by balloting fairly, grade by "grade in order.

"First the Gastaldo placing the Cross upon the altar and the ballot-boxes before the Cross and "then balloting for himself, the others grade by grade according as they may be inspired by "the Holy Spirit; and having elected all the officials of the New Bench the old Gastaldo shall "receive the new Gastaldo, the Vicario and his Companions, who are eighteen in number on the "day of the Madonna of March, and are called Companions for the whole year, and then the last "Sunday of August they make three Companions for the half-year, who being elected, enter on "their duties on the day of the Madonna of September; and thus the new Gastaldo shall make "his first entry on the first Sunday in August with all his Companions and so from time to time "they shall continue in all the elections that shall be made on these days."

(*Nel tempo* (24 *marzo* 1503) *del discretto et prudente homo sier Nicolò cimador Gastaldo, di sier Andrea di Piero coffaner Vicario, et de suoi compagni. Acciò ch' ogni fratello di questa nostra Scuola così degl' honori, come delle fatiche debba haver la sua parte. L' anderà parte, che da mò avanti l' elletion del Gastaldo, Vicario, et Compagni sia fata in questo modo videlicet.*

renowned craftsman in the Scuola degli Schiavoni. Hence, not to be outdone by their rivals, they chose Carpaccio. Between the two Nations there prevailed one of those enmities not unusual among people of common origin and interests. Of these rivalries and enmities we perceive as it were an echo in the articles of the Mariegola of the Dalmatians, who desired to exclude the Albanians from their Scuola.[1]

Meanwhile the work in the Scuola of the Albanians continued apace. They proceeded to face the frontage with marbles and sculptured reliefs as we see them to-day, the lower half being divided

Che la prima domenica avanti il giorno dell' Annontiation della Madonna di Marzo il Gastaldo debba far congregar li suoi compagni nella Scuola, et congregati ridursi nell' albergo di sopra la Scuola, et ivi far celebrar una messa dello Spirito Santo, invocando l' ausilio divino, che inspiri nel Cuore di tutti li fratelli elettori, acciocchè facciano elettione d' un Gastaldo buono, et sufficiente da governar li beni di detta Scuola, qual elettione sia fatta in tal modo.

Che compita la detta Messa dello Spirito Santo il Sacerdote vestito delli paramenti Sacerdotali dia il Sacramento a tutti gli elettori, segondo che si conviene nel Capitolo vigesimo quarto di questa Mariegola, ed in tal elettione non s' habbi riguardare nè ad amici, nè a parenti, ma bensì alla conscienza loro, facendo elettione d' un Gastaldo fedele, et honesto, et da bene, il quale sia atto a questa santa, et divina impresa acciò che li beni di questa Scuola non siano malmenati, et vadano in sinistro, et così debbano giurare il Gastaldo, Vicario et Compagni, et fatto questo il Gastaldo seder debba nello primo e più honorato luoco della Banca, il Vicario, et suoi compagni di grado in grado secondo l' antiquità et dignità loro et sentati tutti per ordine siano eletti due, overo tre Gastaldi, uno de' quali poi rimanga, il quale parera più sufficiente alla più parte della Banca, et il medemo ordine si servi nell' elettione del Vicario, siano eletti due o tre Vicari, et quello, il quale sembrerà più atto a questa impresa, quello sia confermato per Vicario, et non possi esser eletto niuno per Gastaldo nè per Vicario se non è stato per lo meno tre volte alla Banca, et se per caso ne rimanesse qualcheduno contra la termination di detta parte, non s' intendi esser rimaso per modo alcuno, et se il Gastaldo vecchio non volesse scacciar detto Gastaldo overo Vicario eletto contra il tenore, e forma di questa presente parte, li detti cinque Sindici habbiano libertà di scacciarli di tal Offitio, la qual balotatione si faccia sinceramente ballottando di grado in grado per ordine.

Prima mettendo il Gastaldo la Croce sopra l' Altare, et li bossoli avanti la Croce, ed di poi ballottar lui, gl' altri poi di grado in grado secondo che gli sarà inspirito dallo Spirito Santo et eletti tutti gl' Offitiali della Banca Nuova il Gastaldo vecchio accetti il Gastaldo nuovo, il Vicario et suoi Compagni, che sono dieciotto il giorno della Madonna di Marzo, et si chiamano detti Compagni di tutto l' anno, et poi l' ultima domenica d' Agosto si faccia tre Compagni di mezz' anno, li quali eletti facciano l' entrata sua la Madonna di Settembre, et così il Gastaldo nuovo faccia la sua intrata la prima Domenica degl' Agosto: con tutti li suoi compagni, et così di tempo in tempo s' habbia da perseverare in tutte l' Elettioni che si faranno indetti tempi.)

[1] We have related on p. 113 how the Dalmatians refused to admit the Albanians into their Society, but we believe that it may be opportune here to quote an article of their Mariegola which prohibits Dalmatian Brethren from taking part in the Scuola of the Albanians.

"1455. It was resolved as a good and useful thing that each of our Brethren, who at present "may be in this our Scuola, so long as he shall be so may in no wise belong to the Scuola "of the Albanians, and if so be that he belong to the said Scuola we desire that at the end of "fifteen days he shall sever himself from the said Scuola of the Albanians, and if the time being "past and he has not severed himself from the same, for him or for those that would so be in the "Scuola of the Albanians we desire that they be for ever cast out from our Scuola; and thus we "enjoin that any one who may be in that Scuola for any reason shall be unable to enter into this "our Scuola."

(1455; *fu preso per bene et utile cosa che cadauno Nostro fratello che al presente sia in questa Nostra Scuola, che per li tempi sarà, per alcun modo, non possa essere nella Scuola degli Albanesi, et se alcuno fosse nella detta Scuola degli Albanesi volemo che nel termine di giorni quindici, el se habbia fatto depenar dalla detta Scuola degli Albanesi, et passado il termine, et che al detto non si habbia fatto depenar, per quello, o quelli, che fossero in detta Scuola degli Albanesi volemo che da questa nostra Scuola li siano perpetuamente cazzadi et cosi volemo, che se alcuno, che sia in quella Scuola li siano per alcun modo, non possano entrar in questa nostra Scuola.*)

into sections by four pilasters, which sustain the architrave, on which may be read:

SCOLA Sª MARIA | SAN GALLO
| DI ALBANESI.

On this architrave, set side by side above the windows and the door, are three beautiful reliefs representing *S. Gallo, the Madonna and Child*, and *S. Maurizio*, which would appear from certain traces that remain to have been once painted and gilded.

These three admirably delicate reliefs bear the pure and refined stamp of the Lombard style, recalling the work of the Greek artist, Zuan Zorzi Lascari, surnamed *Pirgotele*, the sculptor of the graceful *Madonna* placed over the main entrance of the church of the Madonna degli Miracoli. But they are certainly not by Pirgotele, who died in 1528.

Between the two windows of the first floor is inserted a slab of Istrian stone with a relief, set in a frame. In the upper part of the frame to the left is the escutcheon of the Loredan family, placed there in honour of Antonio Loredan, the hero of the first siege of Scutari: in the middle the Lion of S. Mark "couchant" (*in moleca*): and to the right the arms of the Da Lezze, in memory of Antonio da Lezze, the defender of the fortress during the second siege. Between these cognizances, which were once gilded, is inscribed:

Asedio Secndo
LXXIIII MCCCC

on the relief:

Scodrenses. Egregiae. Sv. Ae. in Vene
Tam. Rem. P. Fidei. Et. Senatus. In Et.
Veneti. Beneficendae. Singularis
Aeterni Hoc Monimentum. P.

In the relief Scutari is symbolically shown in the form of a fort perched upon a cliff. A small head looks out of the keep, probably intended for Da Lezze; whilst the assailants are represented by the two figures of the Sultan Mahomet II. and his Grand Vizier. The Sultan has a scimitar in his hand, and may be recognized by his ample turban and crown. A river, trees, and a church complete the scene. This relief is most carefully executed, but is of a style and technique from which we can draw no conclusions as to the authorship.

The frontage of the second floor is undecorated. The cornice under the roof divided by brackets bears the following inscription,

THE "SCUOLA DEGLI ALBANESI."

138 THE SIEGE OF SCUTARI.
Bas-relief on the Façade of the "Scuola degli Albanesi."

which we have been able to read from the windows of the palace opposite:

M. D. XXXI	N. TEMPO	CUCI
MAMOLI	DE TOMASO	GASTALDO
E NICOLO	BARETARO	VICHARIO
	E COMPAGNI	

The masons, who set up the tablets on which this inscription is engraved, mistook the order of the names of the officers of the Scuola at the time of the completion of the façade: for, according to the Mariegola, it should read as follows:

M.D.XXXI in tempo de Tomaso Mamoli Gastaldo e Nicolo Cuci baretaro Vichario e compagni.[1]

The Scuola being still in flourishing circumstances proceeded with the work, and in June, 1532 the Brethren directed the construction of "the stone altar for the *Albergo da basso*." Whilst giving due attention to Divine Worship, they yet do not neglect earthly matters, and an iron chest is ordered with three keys on the top, to be placed under ground, or it may be in some safe place, that the plate be kept therein; and it is resolved "to strengthen a wall of baked stones (bricks) on the right side of the Scuola, to secure the same as much from thieves as from fire."

In 1552 the priest Giovanni de' Vitali of Brescia is directed to copy the old Mariegola, "incorrect, badly written, and worse

[1] We read in the Mariegola under date May 10th, 1532:

"Sier Tomaso Mamoli, at present Gastaldo of our Scuola, and Sier Nicolò Cucci, hatter, his "Vicario and Companion on the Bench, find that they have spent on the building and adornment "of our Scuola, on the outside with figures, and the making of Scutari in good stone, as at present "can be seen, and on master masons, on gold, and on painters, and in other expenses, which "in all amount to the sum of ninety ducats.

"Which building is to the honour of our country and of our Scuola and to the praise of our "predecessors, and to the glory and veneration of this our Most Illustrious Signoria of Venice, "and in record and in remembrance of the fidelity of our ancient and most faithful progenitors, "which Fabric was also necessary, because the place did not seem like a Scuola, but seemed more "nearly akin to a workshop of some common trade."

(*Sier Tomaso Mamoli al presente Gastaldo della scola nostra et sier Nicolò Cucci beretaro suo avicario, et compagno alla Banca si attrovano haver speso in fabrica et conzar la Scuola nostra di fuora via con figure, et far Scutari di piera viva come al presente si può vedere et in Maestri, in Oro, et dipintori, et in altre spese, che in tutto ascendono alla somma di ducati novanta.*

La qual fabrica è l' onor della patria nostra et della nostra Scuola, et a laude degli nostri antecessori, et gloria, et onorificenza di questa Illustrissima Signoria nostra di Venezia et a ricordanza, et memoria della fedeltà delli nostri antichi et fedelissimi Progenitori, la qual Fabrica era anco necessaria, perchè tal luoco non pareva Scuola, ma pareva più presto una bottega di qualche vil arte.)

dictated," into a new book, adorned with *literis aureis, rubeis, celestisque*, covered with crimson velvet "with corners and other furnishings of silver." The perusal of the simple and ingenuous chapters of this Mariegola, examining in detail the sensible and practical provisions, and the Works of Art left behind by them awaken the desire to be better acquainted with the men who gave life and well-being to such a Society.

We frequently meet among the Brethren three characteristic trades: the *zimadori* (cloth-dressers), the *baretteri* (hatters), and the *cofaneri* (box-makers).[1] But other trades were admitted, and we find several in the minutes of a meeting held on August 21st, 1552 in the *Albergo di sopra* of the Scuola. Here we find Marco dalla Barba, sier Cattanio, sier Domenego de Mattia, sier Pierin, sier Bernardin, and sier Domenico, all painters (*depentori*). Among the Brethren these are most numerous, a fact clearly shown by the many contemporary documents, which record the fact that not a few painters migrated to the Lagoons from the opposite shores of the Adriatic. And ancient records tell us the names, birth-places, and even the shop-signs of a number of Dalmatian, Sclavonian, and Istrian painters. Sometimes they aspire to higher things, like Antonio Meldola, surnamed *Lo Schiavone*; but more often they limited the scope of their talents to the Industrial Arts, the decoration of house-fronts and the ornamentation of chests for bridal outfits.

Among the members of the Scuola we meet with sier Piero, *marçer* (mercer); sier Martin, *muraro* (mason); sier Zanetto, *fante del governo* (man-at-arms); sier Nicolò Negro, *zogieler* (jeweller); sier Santin, *cordeller* (ribbon-weaver); sier Alvise, *casseller* (coffin-maker), sier Nicolò and sier Battista, *taiapiera* (stone-cutters); sier Mattia, *sagomador* (gauger), sier Andrea, *fontegher* (miller), etc.

Another numerous group consists of sailors, who enjoy certain privileges. A Chapter of the Mariegola laid the obligation on all the Brethren to attend meetings summoned by the Gastaldo,

[1] The *zimadori* (cloth-dressers), who formed a special guild of the great woollen industry of Venice, had their own altar in S. Giovanni Elemosinario a Rialto, dedicated to their Patron, S. Nicolò. Their Scuola for secular purposes was on the Rio Marin in the Sestiere di Santa Croce. Many towns in Venetia, such as Feltre, Vicenza and Bassano, manufactured woollen goods; and cloth, flannel, woollen sashes and caps were produced by the factories of Follina, Salzano, Padua, and Crespano. All these products were brought to Venice to be dyed. The guild of *Berretteri*, after whom was named a bridge at S. Salvatore, where they mostly dwelt, formed a Confraternity in 1475, which in 1506 was merged in that of the *Marzeri* (mercers). The traffic was most active, and caps dyed dark red, crimson, scarlet, purple, and blue were exported by Albanian merchants to Bosnia, Herzegovina, Greece, Upper and Lower Albania, the Pireus, and Dalmatia, etc. This trade existed even in our own times, and many old Venetians remember having seen Albanian hawkers in their picturesque costumes selling their wares in the streets. The Albanian Marco Penna was the last dealer in these caps, and his heirs continue in modest fashion to ply their trade near S. Giacomo dall' Orio. The trade of the *Cofaneri* (makers of boxes) was a branch of the painters' guild.

exception being made for those who must "*go out of the country on some important business.*" This exception aimed specially at the sailors.[1]

In the Scuola, as we see, that class of the people was well represented who combined trade and thrift with a devotion for Art and for things good and beautiful. But with the decay of Venice the seeds of dissolution also crept into the Societies. Their moral fibre weakened with the times and became corrupt. Those Albanians, who in their own country gradually bowed their heads under the Ottoman yoke and, oblivious of their glorious history, turned Mahometan to serve in the ranks of the Sultan's janissaries, found their counterpart in the Albanian people of the Lagoons, who wasted their native vigour amid the luxurious habits of Venice. Thus in the Scuola ancient good fellowship waned rapidly, and although so early as 1454 it had been resolved that the offices of the Bench could only be conferred on Albanians, little more than a century saw fierce discussion and rivalries between them and their Venetian Brethren. Recourse was had to the expedient of nominating to the office of Gastaldo an Italian and an Albanian alternately; but agreement on paper proved no effectual check upon discord.[2] To this was added economical decay. The times were no longer prosperous, and parsimonious decrees in vain attempted to stay impending ruin. "It will be a good and holy thing to curtail part of the expenses, for many of them almost could be dispensed with," says a passage in September 1573.

Ruin came slowly but surely, and in the eighteenth century the Scuola ceased to exist. When by a Decree of the Ten on September 5th, 1780 the Scuola del Sovvegno (*Assistance*) of the working *pistori* (bakers) in the church of S. Matteo di Rialto was suppressed,

[1] On April 11th, 1454 it was laid down that "all the sailors who shall satisfy the duty of the "*luminaria* outside Venice, that is to say of 10 soldi, by paying the said sum shall not be called "upon to pay anything more in Venice except for bread and candles" (*tutti li marinai che farano il dovere della luminaria fuor di Venezia, che sono soldi dieci, pagando li detti denari, non sieno tenuti più a pagar in Venezia, eccetto il pane e la candella*).

[2] 1574. June 21st, in Venice: "That from now forward an Italian Guardian be elected and "the next year an Albanian Guardian, and that year in which there shall be an Italian Guardian "there shall be an Albanian Vicario, or rather of that nation; and in that year in which the "Guardian is an Albanian the Vicario shall be an Italian. As many Italian Companions as "Albanians shall be elected; that is one half Italian and the other half Albanian. With this pro-"viso that they may be clearly proved to be Albanians and their Guardian should have seniority "of three years and the Companions two years, and the Companions of the half year shall be "one an Albanian and the other an Italian, and the Syndics one an Albanian and the other "an Italian, &c."

(1574. *Adi 21 Zugno in Venetia: che da mò avanti sia fatto un Guardian Italiano, et l' altro anno Guardian Albanese et quell' anno, nel quale vi sarà il Guardian Italiano siavi l' Avicario Albanese, overo della Nation, e quell' anno, nel quale sarà il Guardian Albanese sia l' Avicario Italiano, et li compagni si facciano tanto Italiani quanto Albanesi, cioè la metà Italiani, et l' altra metà Albanesi, con questo che segnanter siano provati Albanesi, et il loro Guardian habbia ad avere la contumacia d' anni tre et li Compagni anni due, et li Compagni de mezz' anno che sia Albanese, et l' altro Italiano, et li Sindici uno Albanese, et uno Italiano, ecc.*)

the Scuola of the Albanians at S. Maurizio (already closed) was made over to them, and from that time was called *dei Pistori*.[1]

The new occupants set up on the Campo di S. Maurizio a standard on the spot still marked by a stone with the inscription:

LOCO DELLO STENDARDO DELLA B. V. DEI ALBANESI
ORA DEI PISTORI

Many of the valuable objects collected by the Albanians were sold or dispersed. Of some of these we find record in a valuation made in 1762 by the Provveditori di Comune:

1 Cross	19 marks		
4 Candlesticks	26	„	6 ounces
6 „ (newly made)	36	„	6 „
1 large Altar Lamp	13	„	2 „
2 moderate sized do.	12	„	4 „
1 Pax	5	„	3 „
2 Crowns and 3 diadems, 5 in all	2	„	4 „

Besides the six scenes by Carpaccio, there remained still in the Hall of the Scuola forty-three paintings, of which we know neither the author nor the value. These would perhaps have been sold like so many other celebrated works had not a Decree of the Ten on July 12th, 1773 placed a check upon the wasteful dishonesty that was robbing the country of so many priceless Works of Art. The Decree appointed Inspectors empowered to visit all the churches, convents, and Scuole in the Republic, and to compile a Catalogue of all the most important paintings preserved in them. These inventories drawn up in official form were to be signed in every single instance by the Superiors or Administrators, who were bound to declare expressly that they only held these articles of intrinsic or artistic value *in trust*, and that they were responsible for their safety.

Anton Maria Zanetti, the well-known Art Historian, was one of the two Inspectors, and he compiled a Catalogue of all the best pictures existing in the churches, monasteries, and Scuole of the City of Venice, divided into *Sestieri*, which was then signed by the authorities of each. This book underwent singular vicissitudes. During the viceroyalty of Eugène Beauharnais it was taken to the Brera Library in Milan; then under the Austrian rule to Vienna, and only in 1869 was it restored to Venice, where it is now preserved in the *Archivio di Stato* among the MSS. (*olim* Brera, No. 93).

Zanetti died during the compilation of this Catalogue, and among the "References" (*Riferte*) of his successor G. B. Mengardi,

[1] Tassini. Op. cit. p. 574.

which extend from 1779 to 1795, we find on June 1st, 1784 the following entry:

"I have discovered in the Scuola dei Pistori at S. Maurizio six "excellent works by Vittor Carpaccio well worthy of being entered "in the Catalogue and of being consigned to some one who will "attend to their preservation."

And on the last page of the same book, in the section relating to the Sestiere di S. Marco, we find these six pictures entered as follows:

"In the Scuola of S. Maria and S. Gallo of the Albanians at "S. Maurizio, belonging to the Bakers' Guild.

"There are in this Scuola six small pictures by Carpaccio *all on "the left side.*

"The first represents the Birth of the Virgin Mary.

"The second represents the Presentation of Mary in the Temple.

"The third represents the Marriage of Mary with S. Joseph.

"The fourth represents the Annunciation of Mary. Here is "written along the bottom of this fourth painting: 'In tempo di "'Zuanne de Nicolò Zimador e soi compagni—MCCCCCIIII del "'mese d' Aprile.'

"The fifth represents the Visitation of Mary to S. Elizabeth.

"The sixth represents the Death of Mary or, as some say, that "of S. Anne.

"On the 29th day of August, 1784.

"As per receipt in the original of the late Zanetti, Inspector, "executed by Signor Nicolò Colotti, Guardian of the Scuola."[1]

From the "References" of Mengardi's successor, the painter Francesco, son of the well-known artist Domenico Maggiotto, we find under date October 18th, 1796 the following entries:

"In the Scuola of S. Maria and S. Gallo at S. Maurizio are six paintings by Carpaccio in bad repair and damaged."

Neither Sansovino, nor Boschini in his *Ricche Minere*, nor even Anton Maria Zanetti makes any allusion to these works.

At the Fall of the Republic, along with the other Scuole and Confraternities, that of the *Pistori* was dissolved by Napoleon. In the important *Catalogue of the Objects of Fine Art selected under the direction of His Highness Eugène Napoleon, Viceroy of Italy, Prince of Venice*, to the order of the Comptroller-General of Crown Property by the Delegate Pietro Edwards we find written on March 28th, 1808:

"Consignment of the 28th of the said month (January, 1808) "Scuola dei Pistori:

"49. Vettor Carpaccio.

[1] *Arch. di Stato. Inq. di. St. Quadri Isp.* Busta 909, 1796-1797.

"*The Birth of the Virgin Mary.* (Canvas) . . . I. Class (of "value).

"*The Dedication of the Virgin Mary* in the Temple (Canvas) . . . "I. Class.

"*The Annunciation of the Virgin Mary.* (Canvas) . . . I. Class.

"*The Visitation of S. Mary to Elizabeth.* (Canvas) . . . I. Class.

"*The Marriage of the Virgin Mary.* (Canvas) . . . I. Class.

"*Benedetto Diana — The Death of the Virgin Mary.* (Canvas) . . . "I. Class."

Of the other forty-three paintings, some were considered "of very little merit," and others "of the utmost worthlessness."

With the object of forming the great Picture Gallery of the Brera Eugène Beauharnais made a request for pictures from the store-rooms in Venice, and Pietro Edwards' first consignment to Milan was the result.

Specification II.: "Pictures taken from the Collection and sent "at various times in 1808 to Milan, in accordance with the orders "of H.I.H. the Prince and Viceroy, transmitted by H.E. the "Comptroller-General of Crown Property.

"Scuola dei Pistori: Vittor Carpaccio: *The Dedication of the "Virgin Mary in the Temple* (on canvas).

"*The Marriage of the Virgin Mary* (on canvas)."

Later we find:

"Observations on the paintings which were to be sent to the "office of the Comptroller-General of Crown Property by the "Delegate Edwards, according to the directions issued by H.E. the "Comptroller-General, January 28th, 1811.

"First list: Vettor Carpaccio. *The Birth of the Virgin Mary* "(on canvas)."

Edwards in a special note observes: "This seems to be one "of his works about the end of the fifteenth century, but is one "of the weakest. It has suffered some injury, but not, however, "in places of great importance."[1]

These three paintings, therefore, went to Milan, and the other three remained in the storerooms at Venice.

Again, in 1822 we find these other entries: "General state-"ment of the paintings and effects of the Government existing "in the store-room of the Commandery of Malta, held in custody "by Prof. Count Bernardin Corniani, and countersigned by him "on March 13th, 1822 regarding Nos. 784, 785, 786: Scuola dei "Pistori: Paintings 3 m. 10 cm. square. In fair condition; on ordinary "canvas. *The Visitation of Elizabeth; The Death of the Virgin; "The Annunciation*, Vittor Carpaccio."[2]

[1] *Arch. di Stato. Direz. del demanio, Economato, Atti Edwards*, 1808, B. 22.
[2] Ibid., *Statistica demaniale*, vol. 339.

In 1838, anxious to enrich the Picture Gallery founded in the Academy at Vienna with pictures of the Venetian School, Prince Metternich sent two artists, MM. Engert and Führich, to Venice to make a selection. They chose from the store-rooms eighty-five paintings, and among them *The Annunciation* and *The Death of the Virgin*, which were in tolerable condition, as is stated in the above-quoted account.

In 1814 it was decided to adorn the Museo Correr with some of the paintings still in store, and among their number was included the last remaining painting of the Cycle from the Scuola of the Albanians: *The Visitation.*

Let us follow the exodus of the paintings to their various galleries.

In the Brera Gallery in Room VII. we find this note:

"No. 307; Vittore Carpaccio; *The Dedication of the Virgin Mary in the Temple.* Canvas: 1 m. 27 cm. × 1 m. 37 cm. Brought from Venice from the Scuola dei *pittori* (sic). No. 309, *The Marriage of the Virgin Mary*, of the same size and origin."

When in 1816 the Austrians became possessed of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, Pietro Edwards was invited to submit a Report upon the pictures that yet remained in the Venetian store-rooms. This Report, prepared with minute diligence, shows what pictures had been sent by Beauharnais' desire to Milan and to Modena. Not all were destined for Public Galleries; some of them passed into private hands, like *The Birth of the Virgin*, which was sent to Milan in 1811, and is now in the Galleria Lochis at Bergamo: No. 235 (1 m. 29 cm. × 1 m. 26 cm.), derived, according to the Catalogue, from the Collection of Count Teodoro Lechi of Brescia. How it passed from the Scuola of the Albanians and from Milan into the Lechi Collection we cannot tell; but it is permissible to suppose that the painting was given to the Brescian Count by Prince Eugène Beauharnais himself.

Thus, as above stated, the Emperor Ferdinand presented to the Academy in Vienna *The Annunciation* (No. 43 in the Catalogue: 1 m. 27 cm. × 1 m. 39 cm.) and *The Death of the Virgin* (No. 49: 1 m. 28 cm. × 1 m. 33 cm.).

Finally, the Museo Civico in Venice preserves *The Visitation* (No. 31 of the paintings, on p. 68 of the Catalogue: 1 m. 28 cm. × 1 m. 37 cm.).

That these six paintings belonged to *one* series representing *The Life of the Virgin* was first of all pointed out by the Austrian Art-Critic, Theodor von Frimmel, in an article published by him in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* (Berlin and Stuttgart, xi. 320). The clever inductions of Frimmel, founded on observation alone, find their full confirmation in the Documents.

CHAPTER IX

CARPACCIO'S SOURCES OF INSPIRATION AND PREDECESSORS. THE PAINTINGS OF "THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN" IN THE SCUOLA DEGLI ALBANESI

THE Scuola of the Albanians was dedicated to S. Maurizio and S. Gallo, but their first and principal Patroness was the Blessed Virgin.

The influence that the cult of the Virgin Mary exercised upon the institutions, customs and Art of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance has been so elaborately dealt with in a recent treatise that we do not wish to repeat here points already noted.[1] An account with particular reference to pictorial representation of the less well-known evolution of the Legend of *The Life of the Virgin* may not, however, come amiss.

The Synoptic Gospels and that of S. John say but little concerning the Mother of Jesus. The Divine Light which flows from the Redeemer places His Mother, as it were, in the shade. Jesus Himself merges His Filial Devotion in His Great Love for Mankind, and the domestic feeling disappears, as it were, before the Divine Mission that He accomplishes upon earth.

When Christianity, overcoming every obstacle, spread abroad, and the Church was firmly established, popular fancy added to the *gesta* of Apostles, Saints and Martyrs the mournful tales of feminine suffering, amongst which the story of the benign and grief-stricken Virgin, glorified by the sentiment of Motherhood, stands conspicuous.

For the *Story of the Virgin* we must again turn to *The Golden Legend* of da Voragine, which, although it does not deal with her separately, yet relates the principal facts concerning her Life in connection with the various Feast-days dedicated by the Church to her veneration.

Some examples will enable us to understand better the methods

[1] Venturi, A., *La Madonna.* Milano, Hoepli, 1900.

and ideals which influenced the minds of painters and especially of Carpaccio.

On the Feast of the Annunciation (Chap. XXIII.) da Voragine, following in part the Gospel of S. Luke and partly the legends of the Apostles, tells how the Blessed Virgin, having lived from her third to her fourteenth year in the Temple and having made vows of chastity, was given in marriage in accordance with the Divine Will to the old man Joseph, and how at Nazareth, where the angel appeared to her, the Virgin conceived the Son of God. From there she went to visit Elizabeth, in whose womb S. John leaped for joy.

On the Day of the Nativity of the Virgin da Voragine (Chap. LXXII.) describes the *Birth*, *Childhood* and *Marriage of Mary*. Joachim of Nazareth and his wife, Anna of Bethlehem, for twenty years had passed together a life of piety and beneficence without having children ; but, fearing for that reason the reproach of the Law on sterile couples, they made a vow to offer to the Lord such offspring as might be granted to them. His incompetence continuing, Joachim, cast out of the Temple and cursed for not having added to the People of God, in confusion and shame went forth amongst his own shepherds, where an angel appeared to him to announce that he should have out of his wife,—*not by fleshly contact but by Divine Grace*,—a daughter who was to be consecrated in the Temple to the Lord, since from her would be born the Son of the Most High, called *Jesus*. The angel enjoined upon Joachim to start at once for Jerusalem, where at the Golden Gate he would meet his wife Anna, mourning his absence. The pair having met [1] returned to their own dwelling, and when the Divine Promise was fulfilled they gave the Child the name of Mary and brought her at the age of three to the Temple, where they dedicated her to the Lord. There were around the Temple fifteen steps : symbols of the fifteen Gradual Psalms.

The Child, although of such tender years, without any one's assistance mounted them all, running at full speed, supported by Divine Grace. The parents left their daughter in the Temple with the other virgins, and there she grew up in sanctity, engaged in prayer, weaving and needlework. When she had reached her fourteenth year the High Priest directed that all the virgins who had reached the prescribed age should return to their own homes so that they might be married. Mary alone manifested a desire to be devoted to God, having made a vow of chastity. The High Priest, reluctant to create so unusual a precedent, convoked the Sanhedrim of Jewish Elders, who, in so grave a case of doubt,

[1] The *Meeting of S. Anne with S. Joachim* is the subject of a painting (now in the Venice Academy), executed by Carpaccio for the church of S. Francesco at Treviso.

entreated the Will of the Lord. The Voice of the Lord was heard in the solemn silence of the Temple commanding that all the unmarried descendants of the House of David should bring a small rod before the altar, and that the owner of the rod that budded should be the husband of Mary. The descendants of David in Jerusalem were many, and among them was Joseph, who, owing to his advanced age, did not think it suitable that he should bring a rod as an aspirant for the hand of so young a girl. But at a fresh command from the Lord Joseph obeyed. His rod came to life and blossomed in his hand, whilst upon the top of it appeared the Holy Spirit in the form of a Dove. Joseph then returned to Bethlehem to make all necessary preparations for the Holy Nuptials: whilst Mary with seven maidens of her own age retired to her father's house in Nazareth, where the Angel Gabriel announced her Divine Motherhood. A few days afterwards Mary journeyed to the house of Zacharias, where Elizabeth saluted her as "Blessed among women."

On the Day of the Assumption da Voragine relates the legend of the *Passing* of the Virgin, poetically embellished by the Gnostics of the third and fourth centuries. The tradition tells how, after the Tragedy on Golgotha, Mary lived in her cottage on Mount Sion, visiting the places sanctified by her Divine Son. One day, whilst the Queen of Sorrows was grieving deeply over the mournful afflictions of her Son, there appeared to her the Angel who had before saluted the Mother of the Redeemer to announce to her that her Divine Son was awaiting her in Heaven. The Virgin begged that the Apostles who were scattered throughout the world should be gathered around her before she died. The Angel agreed and disappeared, leaving with the Mother of Jesus, who lay on her bed waiting for death, a resplendent palm. Immediately the Apostle John, who was preaching in Ephesus, was caught up into the clouds and borne to Mary's house, along with the other Apostles, who were all transported in like manner from the places where they happened to be.

At the third hour of the night Jesus appeared with the Angelic Orders, the Company of Patriarchs, the Cohorts of Martyrs, the Host of Confessors, the Choir of Virgins; and these bands set themselves in ranks around the Virgin's couch, chanting the sweetest hymns. At the Divine Signal the Soul of Mary left her Body and flew into the Arms of her Son, who then commanded the Apostles to carry the Blessed Remains to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Then there sang the red flowers of the roses, that is to say the Martyrs, and the lilies-of-the-valley, that is to say the Armies of Angels, Confessors and Virgins: their songs mingled with those of the Apostles, who saw the Glorious Soul of Mary

received into the Bosom of the Lord. Likewise a vivid light, insupportable to the human eye, shone from the Corpse, which three maidens had unrobed to wash and place on its bier.

Amid angelic hymns, John carried the palm before the bier, which was borne by Peter and Paul and followed by the other Apostles. The funeral procession, wrapt in a luminous cloud, could not be seen, but the hymns could be clearly heard, so that the Jews flew to arms intending to kill all the Disciples of Jesus, and seize and burn the Body of His Mother. The High Priest, filled with fury, came near and tried to throw the Holy Corpse to the ground. But his hands suddenly withered and remained attached to the bier.

The Apostles, having reached the Valley of Jehoshaphat, laid the Remains in the tomb, and abode near it until the third day, when the Lord appeared again, surrounded by angels, bearing with Him the Soul of Mary which He restored to her Body. She then rose gloriously from the grave and was assumed into Heaven amid a circle of Angels.

The Legend of the Virgin contains the substantial conceptions which underlie a very great portion of the Art of the Middle Ages, and in *The Golden Legend* may be found the origin and development of those ideas, which subsequently took shape in pictures and sculpture. Whoever studies this abstract and symbolic mysticism will thus understand how Italy, even in the midst of her fiercest struggles, could produce such ideal painting as that of Giotto, and how Venice, though intent upon the cares of wealth, could yet produce a simple and ingenuous Art like that of Carpaccio and the other fifteenth-century painters.

Although *The Golden Legend* is the most complete, it is not the first word in religious and traditional literature.

The Bishop of Genoa, besides collecting a great number of oral traditions, brought together divers legendary accounts, written before his time, and, whilst illustrating his matter with a criticism doubtless infantine,—but noteworthy all the same,—he does not accept everything with blind faith. *The Life of the Virgin* had in the course of centuries added largely to the Gospel narrative. Besides oral tradition there were other writings, as da Voragine himself bears witness, for he does not fail to quote his sources, such as the "Anonymous History of the Blessed Virgin" (*Storia anonima della beata Vergine*); "The History of the Nativity of the Virgin" (*Historia della natività della Vergine*), transcribed by S. Jerome; the Letter (*Epistola*) of S. Jerome to Cromatius and Heliodorus; a small apocryphal work entitled "The Blessed John the Evangelist" (*Il beato Giovanni evangelista*); the writings of Epiphanius, and of Dionysius, a disciple of the Apostle S. Paul,

etc. Hagiography now flows in abundant streams, and among the most noteworthy authors he cites Flodoardus, Canon of Rheims, who lived under Louis d'Outremer (936–954) and Lothair (954–986), and who wrote in fifteen volumes *The Lives of the Saints* for each month in the year. Of this work, which was never printed, a complete copy is preserved at Treves, and another, much injured, at Rheims. Throughout the entire Middle Ages and the Renaissance legendary literature grew with richest luxuriance[1] in connection with the *Mysteries* and Sacred Dramas in which it is true we never see represented the entire *Life of the Virgin*, but only certain episodes, or the description of some festival held in her honour.[2]

We need not here follow the evolution of the Legend, but would only seek out the sources whence Carpaccio must have obtained his inspiration. Among the tales which may have served as a groundwork to the craftsman some value would seem to attach to a book, which we find among the *incunabula*, entitled *Vita di Cristo e della Madonna*.

On the first leaf we read:

Tavola de quelle cose che se conteneno in la vita del nostro Signore misier Yesu Christo e de la sua gloriosa madre vergene madona sancta maria.

Stampato in Bologna in casa de Baldissera de li Arciguidi a dì dieci dicembre MCCCCLXXIIII.

More important, however, is the *Vita de la preciosa vergene Maria e del suo unico figliolo iesu christo benedicto*, printed in Venice in 1492[4] and adorned with fine cuts taken from the "Malermi" Bible (*del Malermi*), published in Venice in 1490 by Giovanni Ragazzo.

In this and in other similar books *The Life of the Virgin* is

[1] The following are some of the *Lives* of the Virgin printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries:

1. *Miracoli della gloriosa V. M.* Mediolanum, 1469 (1478).
2. *Vida y excellentias de nostra Señora per Mig. Perez.* Barcellona, 1495.
3. *La vita miracolosa della Vergine Maria et di Jesù Cristo.* Milano, 1499.
4. *Le trespassement et assumption de la Vierge Marie.* Paris, vers 1500.
5. *Vita divæ Mariæ cum fig. Alb Dureri.* 1511, in fol.
6. *Vita di Maria Vergine* di *P. Aretino.* circa 1540.
7. *Vita della Vergine M. con l' humanità del redentor del mondo del P. Bart. Meduna.* Vinegia, 1574.

[2] We give the titles of some of the Sacred Representations dealing with *The Life of the Virgin*:

1. *La Rappresentatione della Purificatione di Nostra Donna, che si fa per la festa di Santa Maria della Candellaia.* Newly reprinted in Florence, MDLIX.
2. *La Rappresentazione et Festa della Anuntiatione di Nostra Donna. Con una aggiunta di duo belli Capitoli nuovamente ristampata.* (At the End) Printed in Florence, MDLXVI.
3. *La Natività e Vita della Gloriosa Vergine Maria.* In Firenze alle scale di Badia et in Pistoia per Antonio Fortunati, 1648.

[3] Bibl. Marciana, No. 41026. (CXIII. I.).

[4] Museo Civico. G. 52. Cfr. Duc de Rivoli (Prince d'Essling), *Bibliographie des livres à figures vénitiens*, 1469–1525, p. 119. Paris, 1892.

139 The Birth of the Virgin, and the Presentation.

140 The Annunciation. The Visitation.

143 The Death of the Virgin.
From the "Rosario della Gloriosa Vergine Maria"
(Venice, 1521).

142 The Death of the Virgin.

141 The Marriage of the Virgin.

interwoven with that of *Jesus*; in the written account, and in the illustrations the *Acts of Jesus* alternate with those of the *Virgin*. It therefore behoves our purpose to note the principal scenes usually embodied in pictorial presentments.

Thus in *The Presentation in the Temple* we have a form of composition corresponding to that adopted by Carpaccio. We see the Temple Staircase, consisting according to certain writers—like da Voragine—of fifteen steps, or according to others of ten, and the little girl is mounting them alone.

In *The Espousals* the artist,—or rather Malermi, to whom the real suggestion is due,—depicts the composition in the manner universally followed, but into which Carpaccio imports, as we shall see, a curious decorative innovation.

The Annunciation displays a two-fold scene, which appealed greatly to Venetian painters, since it adapts itself so well to the two wings of an organ. In *The Visitation*, represented in the same engraving, the two women are beheld in warm embrace.

In *The Death of the Virgin* we see an angel who has severed both hands of a profane person, who has dared to touch the Madonna's Corpse. This punishment greatly resembles that inflicted on the High Priest, who, for having laid hands upon Mary's bier, had both his hands withered. More in accordance with the usual representation is the woodcut, which we take from the *Rosario de la gloriosa Vergine Maria* (Venetiis, 1521).

Italian Art had for centuries past interpreted these poetic legends into the language of painting and sculpture, alike with ingenuous simplicity and dramatic force, but it is of special importance in this connection to recall those Works of Art in Venice, or in the neighbouring towns, which may have provided Carpaccio with the primary idea of his compositions.

The four marble pillars around the *Ciborium* in S. Mark's are all sculptured with scenes from the Gospels, arranged in nine courses, each of which is divided by as many little columns, from which spring small rounded arches. Without pausing to discuss the various conjectures regarding their country of origin or the period within which they would fall, we may discern in them all the characteristics of Eastern workmanship. The scenes display a naïve blending of the Synoptical and Apocryphal Gospels, and faithfully follow the traditional lines laid down by da Voragine in his *Golden Legend*. The scenes from *The Virgin's Life* are with a few exceptions carved on the north-eastern column, accompanied from base to capital with the following inscriptions:

1. *Isachar Pontifex despexit Ioachim et munera ejus.*
2. *Adhortatur Angelus Ioachim et Annam: prædicens eis filiam nascituram.*

3. *Item fatur Angelus ad Ioachim et ad Annam de fœcunditate ferenda.*
4. *Ioachim et Anna: Mater Dei nascitur: Munera offeruntur in templo.*
5. *Offertur sacrificium Deo pro beata prole recepta.*
6. *Mater salutis nostræ ducitur cum muneribus in templum.*
7. *Munera cum lampadibus offeruntur Deo pro Virgine nata.*
8. *Ysachar Virginem recepit in templo, quæ illo juvante per se gradus ascendit.*
9. *Virga Ioseph apparuit florida cui Virgo fuerit commendanda.*

On the north-eastern column we also find this inscription and the corresponding scenes:

Annuntiacio: Maria it ad Elisabeth: Suspitio: Natwitas Iesu Christi.

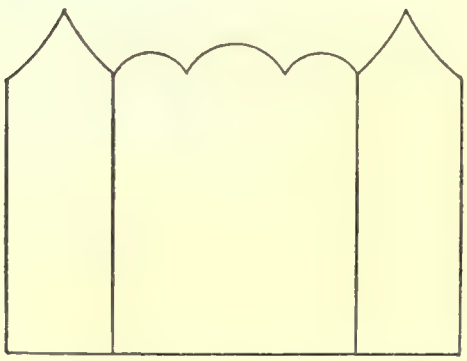
The reliefs on the other three columns depict scenes from *The Life of Christ*.

But a stronger influence by far was exercised upon the Venetian Iconography of the Virgin by the frescoes which Giotto painted in the years 1303-1305 with such powerful originality in the Chapel of the Scrovegni at Padua.

That immortal craftsman evidently inspired two works upon the same subject by a Venetian painter in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Of these the first, if not by Jacopo Bellini himself, is probably the work of a clever pupil. It is the predella of an altarpiece representing *The Annunciation*, attributed wrongly to Fra Angelico, and preserved in the church of S. Alessandro at Brescia. This predella, which is not by the same artist as the altarpiece, consists of five small oblong panels depicting *The Nativity*, *The Presentation*, *The Visitation*, *A Miracle* and *The Passing*, respectively. Conceived in the Giottesque style they may be reckoned among the finest productions of the Early Venetian School.

By the same hand apparently, and likewise inspired by Giotto, are another set of twelve small panels, exhibited in the Louvre under the attribution of Gentile da Fabriano, but which to us seem rather to belong to the School of Jacopo Bellini. Arranged in a horizontal line, regardless of artistic effect or iconographical chronology, it is not easy to replace in their original order these very beautiful little paintings. This altarpiece, like many similar ones, was divided into three compartments in the form, as it were, of a triptych with a gable surmounting either wing and the centre panel terminating in three semicircles. The wings in these cases usually comprised a



The Suspicions of S. Joseph.
Bas-relief on a Column of the Ciborium at S. Mark's.

145 THE BIRTH OF MARY.
Fresco by Giotto in the Chapel of the Scrovegni, Padua.

146 LIFE OF THE VIRGIN.
School of Jacopo Bellini, Predella, of an Altar-piece in the Church of S. Alessandro, Brescia.

147 The Birth of the Virgin.

148 The Presentation in the Temple.

149 The Marriage of the Virgin.

150 The Birth of Jesus.

151 The Circumcision.

152 The Coronation of the Virgin.

Antonio Vivarini. Scenes from the Lives of Christ and of the Virgin. In the Royal Museum. Berlin.

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THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN AND OF JESUS. School of Jacopo Bellini. In the Louvre.

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The Life of the Virgin and of Jesus. School of Jacopo Bellini. In the Louvre.

165 THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
By Jacopo Bellini (?). In the Collection of Mrs. Chapman of New York.

series of two or three small panels, arranged vertically and representing different scenes. Many of these little paintings, now separated from their central subject, are dispersed in various collections, deprived of their organic *nexus* and void of the significance intended by the craftsman. Examples however do exist of altarpieces still complete with the scenes set forth according to the order conceived by their designer—i.e. two or three vertical lines of small paintings with a larger composition in the centre: for instance *The Circumcision* by Caterino in the Museo Civico at Venice, and two others by Quiricio da Murano; one in the Museum at Rovigo, the other in the Academy at Vienna.

The twelve small panels in the Louvre should thus fill in upright order the two sides of a composition of which the centre was occupied by one subject: probably *The Annunciation.*

If the small paintings in the Louvre are placed six on one side and six on another, in that kind of parallelism between *The Acts of Mary* and those of *Jesus* which the legends so much affect, the original conception of the painter will appear at a glance.

1. *The Angel announces to Joachim the Birth of Mary.*	a. *The Visit of Mary to Elizabeth.*
2. *The Birth of the Virgin.*	b. *The Birth of Christ.*
3. *Her Parents conduct the Virgin to the Temple.*	c. *The Circumcision.*
4. *The Virgin ascending the Staircase alone.*	d. *The Purification.*
5. *The Miracle of the Budding Rods.*	e. *The Flight into Egypt.*
6. *The Espousals of the Virgin.*	f. *Christ among the Doctors.*

Another example of this juxtaposition of the two *Lives* occurs in six panels preserved in the Museum at Berlin, which according to our opinion should be assigned to Antonio Vivarini's first manner.

Two more Cycles of *The Life of the Madonna* were executed in Venice prior to Carpaccio; one by Jacopo Bellini in the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, which has now disappeared, and the other by Michele Giambono. Certain pictures recently transported across the sea would appear to form part of the Bellini Cycle, one of which, *The Adoration of the Magi* (reproduced here), adorns the Chapman Collection in New York. The second Cycle was carried out in the middle of the fifteenth century by Michele Giambono in the form of two mosaics under the vault of the *Cappella dei Mascoli* in S. Mark's. On one side we have *The Visit to Elizabeth* and *The Death of the Virgin*; on the other *The Birth of the Virgin* and *The Presentation in the Temple.* The actual mosaics are throughout Giambono's handicraft, and they exhibit an identical, and, in the opinion of experts, perfect, technique. Moreover the mosaic of *The Visitation* and *The Death* bore—like the other two—an inscription

destroyed during restoration: *Michael Zambono Venetiis fecit.* But the cartoons were certainly not all by the same hand. In those whereon Giambono's signature may still be read the figures move amid Gothic buildings, bristling with pinnacles and crockets, decked with marble tracery and supported upon delicate pillars; whilst in the two scenes opposite, which the selfsame Giambono carried out after the designs of a later craftsman, probably of Mantegna's School, we discern a change in artistic ideas and characteristics, and the grand classic arch is everywhere a conspicuous object in the architecture. The mediæval and Mantegnesque mosaics alike represent to us, both in the composition and grouping of the figures, the School from which Carpaccio first drew his inspiration, and he doubtless was conscious of their influence when he set to work upon his task in the Scuola of the Albanians.

The sequence of Carpaccio's pictorial Cycles was generally interrupted half-way by the altar. The Gospel Side received the light from above to the left: that of the Epistle to the right. This is apparent in the paintings themselves, if we observe the direction in which the shadows fall. To this rule the Albanian Cycle found an exception, being arranged in single file like a frieze. This is clear, not only from the direction of the shadows but also from Mengardi's account already quoted, where he states that the paintings are all placed on the left wall of the Albergo, which, though altered and damaged by recent restoration, can still be reconstructed in imagination.

The altar was set up opposite the two windows, from one of which a corner of the Campo S. Maurizio could be seen, whilst the other looked into the lane called the *Calle del Piovan*, where—subsequently to Carpaccio's day—the handsome palace opposite was built in the sixteenth century by Dionisio Bellavite, a wealthy corn and oil merchant, for whom Paul Veronese painted the façade. Carpaccio's paintings were doubtless placed along the wall to the left, in order to obtain a favourable light from the window opening upon the Campo di S. Mauriziò.

The paintings placed in a row measure 8 m. 14 cm., whilst the length of the wall, 9 m. 42 cm., leaves a space of 1 m. 28 cm. to be used, as probably was the case, for the seven pilasters, measuring about 18 cm. each, required to separate the scenes from one another.

We possess no information in regard to the altarpiece, no doubt the earliest possession of the Scuola, but the well-known analogy between these institutions might lead us to suppose that it represented *The Madonna with SS. Maurizio and Gallo* on either side.

The series commences with *The Birth of the Virgin Mary*, which now bears the forged signature of Carpaccio.

According to his custom the great craftsman lays bare for us

The Art Photogravure Co. Ltd. London

The Birth of the Virgin.
Galleria Lochis Accademia Carrara Bergamo

THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN. Mosaic in the Cappella dei Mascoli in S. Mark's, Venice.
By Michele Giambono.

as it were a vision of the past, making us live in the intimacy of the home. He shows us a Venetian bedchamber with the minute fidelity of an inventory, which here produces no detriment to the general effect; nor does it diminish, but rather increases the value of the painter's work.

Whilst the student of manners may find precious details of the intimate life of Venice, the connoisseur of Art can admire the skill of the composition, the brilliance of the colouring and the correctness of the draughtsmanship,—a very great merit, such as few but this Venetian painter could attain to.

The bed placed in an alcove, hung with rich draperies enclosed above by a canopy and a vallance (*bonagrazia*, *bandinella*) with a fringe of small ball-tassels, is raised upon a high daïs (*banco da letto*), over the upper step of which hangs a handsome Oriental carpet. The beautiful quilt of the bed may be recognized as one of those that we find described in Inventories as so highly prized by Venetians, and which with their bright but harmonious tints reveal an inborn taste for colour.

S. Anne in a half-recumbent position, with her left arm resting on the pillow and supporting her head, follows with gentle solicitude the movement of the two women engaged upon their necessary duties with the new-born infant. In the left corner of the foreground S. Joachim, a handsome old man with a flowing white beard, leans upon a stick, and also watches with complaisant satisfaction the attendant women. One of these, an elderly person with her head swathed in a kerchief, is seated upon the lower step of the daïs, and holds her left arm round the infant, who lies with nimbus-encircled head in her lap, whilst she stretches forth her right hand towards the bath-tub to test the temperature of the water.[1]

Another and younger woman turns her beautiful profile towards us, as she sits upon the carpet intent on rolling up the swaddling bands. The selfsame figure was repeated by Vettore, or by his son Benedetto, in a fragment of a painting now belonging to the Benson Collection in London. A third woman wearing a white coif draws near the bed with a *piadena* or basin[2] of soup,

[1] So early as in the Greek *Menologio* of 1025, preserved in the Vatican, S. Anne is seen laid in bed, while three women bring her food, and another, preparing to wash the infant, dips her hand in a basin of water to test its temperature. A similar scene is represented in the *Homilies* of the Byzantine monk Giacomo, also in the Vatican. The scheme of composition of the other scenes from *The Life of Mary* is also repeated with slight variations in the oldest paintings and sculptures (Venturi, *La Madonna*, pp. 87 and 89). Carpaccio follows the early iconographic traditions employed by craftsmen of the fourteenth century but to which few or none of those of the fifteenth adhered.

[2] Piccolpasso (*L'Arte del vasaio*, Rome, 1857) says that the Venetians called the *ongaresca* of the people of Urbino *piadena*. The *impalliata* consisted of the basin (*piadena*) and the cover (*taier*), which reversed served as a plate. Lazari, *Notizia della Racc. Correr.*, p. 63. Venice, 1859.

which she cools with a spoon. Among Venetian household-goods these *piadene*, called also *impalliate da puerpere*, form very interesting specimens of Venetian domestic utensils, and are much sought after by collectors of art-objects. They are usually of fine majolica, sometimes painted, sometimes plain white, the several pieces fitting into one another and together forming a kind of urn or *tazza*, of which the egg-cup and salt-cellar make the top.

Casting our glances round the chamber we are struck by the appearance of sober comfort peculiar to the fifteenth century, when neither the domestic appurtenances, nor the externals had yet departed from the refined simplicity of the Middle Ages, whilst acquiring at the same time the delicate elegancies of the Renaissance. Along the wall beside the bed runs the shelf known as the *soaza* (cornice), and upon this characteristic article of furniture are set out

Saliera. *Ongaresca* or *piadena.* *Tajer.* *Scodella.* The different objects fitted together.

THE "IMPALLIATA DA PUERPERA." *From the "L' Arte del Vasaio" of Cipriano Piccolpasso.*

with artistic lack of symmetry an embossed vase and a bronze candlestick of Eastern design, together with a variety of glass and majolica jars and bowls. *Vasetti e pitteri di nessun valore sopra la soaza* is an entry often recurring in the old Inventories, compiled by notaries who certainly could never have foreseen that these objects "of no value" would in time become for us priceless and much sought-after treasures. Under the *soaza* hangs a piece of green arras with "*frixi*": embroideries of gold. A Byzantine ancona representing *The Madonna and Child* usually hung above these *soaze*. Carpaccio with adroit discernment hangs up instead a small lamp (*cesendelo*) and a panel with a verse in Hebrew from the "*Scir hameloth*," a prayer which, according to Jewish custom, was to be affixed to the four walls of the chambers of women in child-birth.

Here too the artist is faithful to his custom of introducing some animal; for a pair of rabbits are seen nibbling a cabbage-leaf in the centre of the composition.

The door is open and affords us first a view of the kitchen with its wide chimney-hood (*napa*), before which a servant is bending, busy plucking a fowl, and a number of fine pewter and

168 "Impalliata" by Francesco Xanto Avelli of Rovigo (1530).[1]
Museo Civico, Venice.

169 Interior of the same.

[1] The exterior of the "Impalliata" is decorated with grotesques on a pale blue ground, and two labels, on one of which is the year MDXXX, and on the other the painter's initials F.X.A.R. (Francesco Xanto Avelli Rodigino). In the interior is shown a woman extended on a bed, whilst a young girl dries some clothes at a fire and Lucina on the opposite side holds the babe on her knee. The Cover (*Taier*) represents the Birth of Christ. Lazari, *Op. cit.* p. 62.

170 FIGURE OF A LADY.
By Vittore or Benedetto Carpaccio.
In the Collection of Mr. R. H. Benson, London.

171 Clock Tower in the Piazza dei Signori, Padua.

172 THE PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN.

brass (*laton*) dishes are arranged in order upon a shelf along the wall. Not only in the houses of the humblest citizens but also in those of wealthy burgesses the kitchen was to be found next to the bedchamber and served also as the dining-room,—a custom which still continues among those few simple-living old-fashioned folk who yet have clung to the customs of their forefathers.

In the background beyond the kitchen other chambers follow in succession, painted with such skilful effect of perspective and chiaroscuro as to recall the technique of Peter de Hooch.

Next in the primitive ordering of the scenes comes the painting of *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.* The Temple rises on the right, approached by a flight of steps that cuts diagonally across the picture from the left to the right of the spectator. In the background stands a clock-tower with a dial, upon which the hours are marked in Hebrew numerals. The edifice bears some resemblance to the Clock-Tower in the Piazza dei Signori at Padua, built about 1430, to which the splendid gateway designed by Giovan Maria Falconetto was added in 1533.

At the top of the flight stands the High Priest, with two other priests behind him. Stretching forth his hands he welcomes the little girl, who is kneeling on the third of the ten steps. At the foot of the staircase stands S. Joachim with bared head, beside a group of Holy Women, amongst whom are noticeable SS. Anne and Elizabeth, in plain attire with folded hands. This group of three women recurs in other paintings and drawings by Carpaccio, who was perhaps struck by some characteristic attitude of Venetian popular life, displayed in the streets and public places. Even to this day in the streets of Venice the appearance of these bands of women is not an infrequent sight; the customary *mare, la cugnada* and *la santola* conducting some little maiden to Confirmation or First Communion.

The Classic Revival is revealed in the relief on the staircase wall, where the painter has reproduced a piece of antique sculpture, probably the side of a Roman sarcophagus. But we are unable to make out the subject of the composition.

Here, too, the customary animals reappear, for to the right, in the angle of the staircase, may be seen a fawn lying down, held in a leash by a small boy.

This constant introduction of animals into Carpaccio's pictures must not be considered merely as a painter's caprice, but as a notable feature in Venetian private life, which could not escape so acute an observer of manners. In fact, the Venetians living in their own factories (*fondachi*) in the East were regarded with suspicion on

religious grounds, and were hated both for their great commercial prosperity and also for the airs of superiority which they were wont to assume. On Friday—the Oriental Holy-Day—the *fondachi* were closed and Christian merchants could not go abroad. To kill the irksomeness of the long hours of confinement within doors, they would indulge in games and sports, consisting especially in training tame animals, among which there was almost always a huge pig to attack any Mussulman who might have the boldness to cross the threshold of the *fondaco*. The Turk would instantly beat a retreat at the sight of this unclean animal, which according to the Mahomedan religion produced upon him a feeling of repulsion. Pilgrims coming from the Holy Land, merchants returning to their own country and other travellers would relate these details of the life of their countrymen in the East,[1] and thus the painter, who so often depicts Oriental scenery, never omits to introduce animals into it.

We possess two drawings by Carpaccio of *The Presentation in the Temple*; "sketches" wherein the composition differs considerably from the painting executed for the Albanians. They belong to that important series of drawings scattered about in various galleries, which show the origin and evolution of ideas in the craftsman's mind.

The drawing of *The Presentation* preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor is executed with light and broken strokes of the pen. The composition, though of a certain grandeur in appearance, is at the same time sketchy in the arrangement of the groups of figures and in the architecture. In the background stands a circular building which recalls not a little the Baptistery at Pisa.

Carpaccio has treated the same subject in another very beautiful sketch, now in the Uffizi Gallery, and allotted by a mistake in the Catalogue to the *S. Ursula* Cycle. Here as in the painting for the Albanians, we see the High Priest at the top of the steps, the Virgin kneeling, the Holy Women and S. Joachim, and the little boy, but not the fawn. Moreover, unlike the painting, we observe here a throng of spectators, which gives life to the scene, and a gorgeous architectural background with a temple in the centre, from which extends a colonnade resembling the Procuratie: as in fact the entire scene greatly recalls the Piazza di S. Marco. Studies of figures for this drawing may also be seen on another sheet of Carpaccio's designs in the Uffizi.

A composition conceived on such grand lines was ill adapted for transference to canvas of such modest proportions as that required for the Scuola of the Albanians; and for this reason Carpaccio

[1] Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels in Mittelalter*. II. 431. Stuttgart. 1879.

173 STUDY OF FIGURES FOR THE "PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE."
In the Uffizi, Florence.

174 THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.
By Cima da Conegliano. In the Dresden Gallery.

reproduced only the right-hand portion of the original sketch with the principal figures unaltered.

The Windsor and the Uffizi drawings were certainly executed for some definite purpose, and the hypothesis which we have put forward to discover the reason does not seem unwarranted.

The Minutes of the wealthy and renowned Scuola della Carità tell us that in the early years of the sixteenth century certain Brethren manifested their desire to cause "*uno telaro*" with "*la instoria a laude de Nostra Donna*" to be painted for the Hall of their Albergo.[1] The subject of this *instoria* was to be *The Presentation in the Temple*, and certain painters set to work immediately at *this competition*, according to the directions of the presiding officers of the Scuola. But from a resolution of January 20th, 1504 we learn "that Maestro Pasqualin of Venice, painter" (*che m° Pasqualin da Venezia depentor*) offered to do the work in a "superior manner" (*superlativo grado*), presenting also a sketch which for originality of design (*per la invenzion de el desegno*) appeared to be better than the others. Pasqualino promised besides to use good and fine colours and only to ask in payment for his work one hundred and seventy ducats, for which reason his offer was accepted without further discussion.

Is it perhaps quite improbable that Carpaccio was one of those painters who were "put to the proof," and were defeated by the adroit, if not straightforward, ruse of Pasqualino, and that he had prepared the two drawings described above for this competition?

Of the fate of Pasqualino's design which so charmed the authorities of the Scuola della Carità we know nothing, but we can imagine his treatment of the subject by examining another *Presentation of the Virgin* by his master, Cima da Conegliano, now preserved in the Gallery at Dresden. Cima follows the text of *The Golden Legend* more closely than Carpaccio; even to the most minute details, such as the staircase, which is composed of *fifteen*, not *ten* steps.

Pasqualino could not have diverged much in his sketch from the conception, form and manner of the master from Conegliano, whose pupil and imitator he was; but his death in December 1504 put an

[1] "Messer Nic. Brevio the present Chief Guardian, and the Companions in the Albergo of the Scuola of Madonna S. Mary of Charity being desirous of erecting a very beautiful work in our aforesaid Albergo, which may be to the praise and glory of the Most Glorious Virgin Mary our Mother, a marvellous thing that may be praised by all, and such a work has for many years been desired by many Guardians and the young men who belong to this blessed Scuola," etc.

Desiderando messer Nic. Brevio al presente guardian grando e Compagni in l' Albergo della schuolla de mad^a Santa Maria della Charità de voler far una belissima opera in lo preditto Albergo nostro, la qual sia a laude et gloria della gloriosissima Vergine Maria madre nostra, e cosa horifica secondo da tutti è sta laudata, et za molti anni fosse desiderada simil opera da molti guardiani, e giovani stadi in questa benedetta schuola, etc.—*Arch. di Stato. Manimorte.—Scuola Grande di S. Maria della Carità*, vol. 254. *Notatorio* 1488 al 1531, c.61 t, 62.

end for the time to any further work.[1] No further allusion to the commission occurs until 1534 when the Scuola della Carità directed Tiziano Vecellio to paint another *Presentation in the Temple*, which he completed in 1538. Titian has preserved the traditional form, introducing only, as an echo from real life, the old peasant-woman with her basket of eggs: a characteristic figure which recalls two others by Carpaccio and Cima. The painting was placed over the door of an ante-chamber of the Albergo della Carità, beneath a superb wooden ceiling carved with gilded flowers on a blue ground. When in the early years of the last century the Picture Galleries were arranged in the rooms of the Scuola della Carità this painting was torn from the wall where Vecellio himself, after due consideration of the spot, had placed it, having moreover chosen his colours to suit the light: and was further defiled by a restorer, who presumed to add his own work to it. The painting now replaced in its original position and former shape has recovered once more its ancient charm.

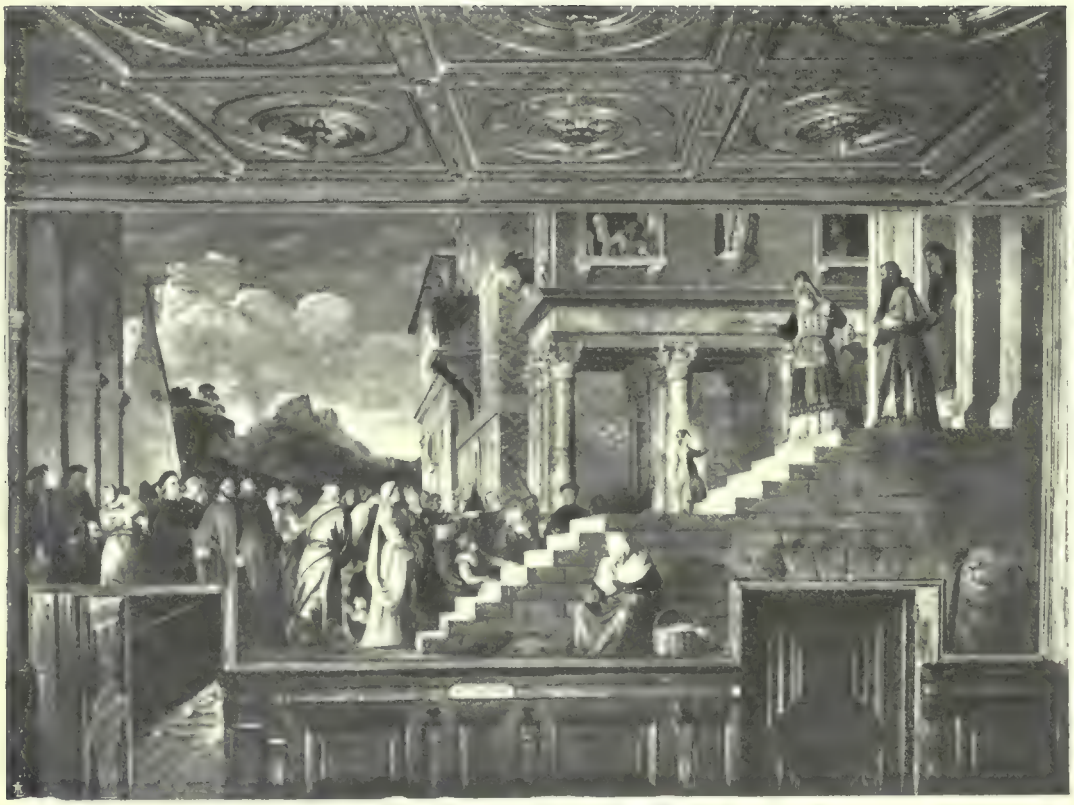
The Marriage of the Virgin follows upon *The Presentation in the Temple.* Here Carpaccio abandons the time-honoured conventional form and arranges the composition according to his own decorative conceptions.

All the painters, in fact, who preceded Carpaccio—Giotto, Taddeo Gaddi, Giovanni da Milano, Bartolo di Fredi, Ottaviano Nelli, Lorenzo da Viterbo, Domenico Ghirlandajo, Fra Angelico—follow an almost invariable rule, in representing this *Marriage* scene: in the middle stands the High Priest, and on either side of him the Bride and Bridegroom. Carpaccio chooses instead an arrangement of his own. At the top of four wide altar-steps, over which are spread carpets, attended by two other priests, stands the High Priest. His eyes are lifted to Heaven, and with his left hand he blesses the Virgin, who kneels with bent head and folded hands. S. Joseph ascends the steps, his budding staff in his hand, and bends forward in an attitude that we see repeated in other figures by Carpaccio. In the background we perceive the Holy Women and S. Joachim, and further away still the other aspirants to the Virgin's hand, who, having been rejected, are in accordance with the Jewish Rite breaking their rods.

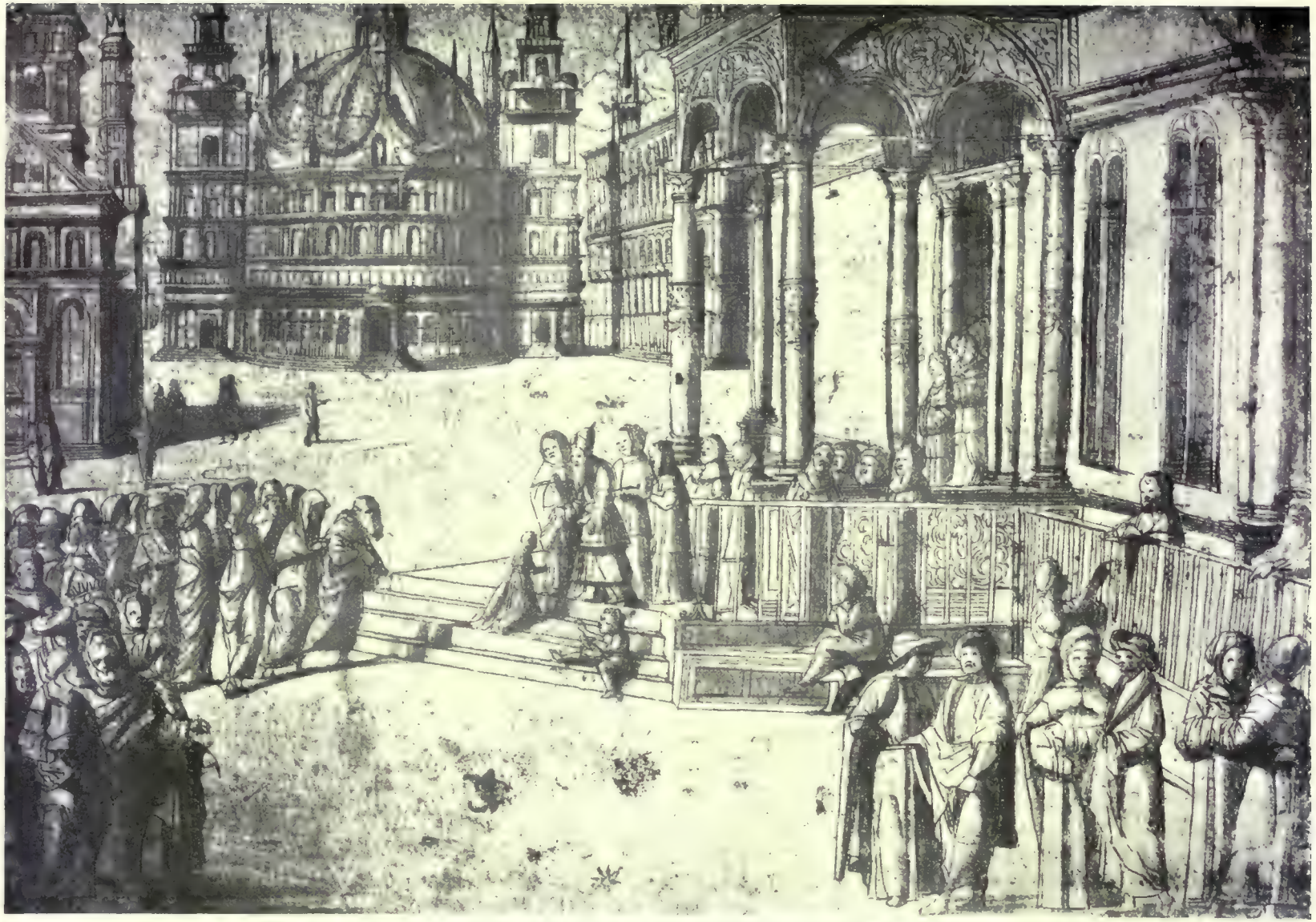
The Temple architecture richly inlaid with marble of various colours displays the Renaissance in the zenith of its splendour.

We may observe in this painting one of those significant traits of the talented decorator that Carpaccio had proved himself to be

[1] His death is recorded in the books of the Scuola on the back of p. 67, vol. 254, already quoted: an entry made on the two days December 6th, 1504 and February 19th, 1505 regarding the transfer from the Pisani Bank to a deposit account at the Monte Nuovo of the money set aside for the execution of this painting.



175 THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.
By Titian. In the Accademia, Venice.



Pen-and-Ink Sketch by Vittore Carpaccio for the "Presentation in the Temple." Windsor Castle.

Sketch by Vittore Carpaccio for the "Presentation in the Temple."
In the Uffizi, Florence.

182 THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN.

THE ANNUNCIATION.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Academy, Vienna.

already in the *S. Ursula* Cycle. It is a noteworthy circumstance that the painting of *The Presentation* is cut diagonally from left to right by a flight of steps. In order to complete the decorative scheme therefore the painter shows us in *The Marriage* another staircase ascending instead from right to left. By this arrangement the two paintings unite together and form an agreeable harmony of line in opposite directions.

Two other articles should not escape our notice. The Hebrew candelabrum (*lume ebraico*) with seven branches, set up on the architrave running round the walls, and two incense-burners placed on either side of the altar.

The Annunciation constitutes the fourth scene, and it bears the name of the Gastaldo of the Scuola, *Zuanne di Nicolò Cimador*.

This composition does not depart from traditional form. The angel, holding a lily in one hand and raising the other in benediction, salutes the kneeling Virgin, who with modest countenance receives the Celestial Message. The Virgin's apartment opens from a spacious and sumptuously decorated loggia in the Lombard style of architecture. The two composite pilasters adorned with graceful arabesques and delicately carved capitals, the harmonious curve of the upper arch and the finely proportioned arches beneath, joined together in the form of a two-light window, recall the marvels of the church of the Madonna dei Miracoli and the Palazzo Vendramin Calergi.

Neither can the general appointments fail in this instance to arrest our attention. Through the door in the background may be seen the couch with its pillow and the sheets turned down. The doorway is closed only by a handsome curtain, which affords but another proof, confirmed by documents, that in the Middle Ages the doorways of the several apartments were rarely shut off by wooden doors, but only screened by curtains and hangings. The furniture of the loggia, where the Virgin is kneeling, recalls another scene. The fald-stool, upholstered in red cloth studded with large nails (*broche*) of gilt bronze, is of identical shape and similar workmanship to certain articles of furniture which Carpaccio reproduces in the study of *S. Jerome* in the Scuola degli Schiavoni. From beside the doorpost runs the usual *soaza*, and under the window stands a wooden chest, whereon is placed a majolica vase holding a plant.

To the left of the spectator is the garden with a small pillared balcony above a grated door. Tall pine and other ancient trees appear over the battlemented walls. Three doves, a pheasant, a peacock and other birds wandering here and there confer an aspect of domestic peace and simplicity upon the scene.

An exceptional profusion of animals characterizes the fifth paint-

ing, *The Visitation*: a composition oft repeated subsequently by our artist, and with but few variations. In the background the lines of Venetian architecture of the Renaissance in the buildings to the right of the spectator blend with the forms of an ideal East, consisting of a species of minaret and the slender palm-trees imitated from Lazzaro Bastiani; and the principal figures are, except Mary and Elizabeth who are meeting in a warm embrace, all clad in Oriental garb. Our attention is markedly drawn to three figures taken from the Reuvich drawings: a Saracen standing beside a white-bearded old man who is seated in the foreground, and further back a group of two women engaged in conversation. In the further distance we observe a number of small figures on horseback, repeated again in a drawing by Carpaccio in the Louvre: where likewise other studies are preserved which were employed especially for the distant figures—warriors, etc. in the painting: *S. George baptizing the Gentiles.*

The last scene of the Albanian Cycle is formed by *The Death of the Virgin.* Carpaccio shows Our Lady extended on a bier under a rich drapery, and his sense of reality causes him to represent the Mother of Jesus, not merely in a trance, as religious sentiment might have directed, but actually motionless with the rigidity of death, which, as we have observed in describing *The Obsequies of S. Jerome* in the Scuola degli Schiavoni, no artist could express more perfectly. Around the Corpse the Apostles stand in a circle, assembled to offer a last mournful tribute. Beside the bier S. Peter, holding a book in one hand, with eyes fixed upon its page, is pronouncing words of Benediction and Prayer. In this, as in all Carpaccio's paintings, the hands are most carefully drawn, as may be judged from a series of sketches of hands in the Uffizi: S. Peter's hands holding the book; another hand, also S. Peter's, grasping a bunch of keys, drawn with great vigour; and a third hand holding a stone for the painting of *The Stoning of S. Stephen.*

To the left of the composition of *The Death of the Virgin*, amid a choir of angels, are portraits of the kneeling donors; of the Gastaldo, Zuan di Nicolò, *zimador*, of the Vicario, Andrea di Piero, *coffaner*, and of the Secretary, another Albanian member. These portraits of the three donor-authorities of the Scuola are as usual represented in the painting placed beside the altar *in cornu Evangelii*, and their faces therefore turn towards it.

Above, amid a radiant nimbus of cherub heads, Jesus appears descending from Heaven in Glory. He lovingly receives into His hands the Soul of Mary, represented by the painter, according to tradition, in the form of a small child.

Through the opening of two arcades symmetrically arranged to the right and left we perceive divers noble edifices, wherein

THE VISITATION.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Museo Civico, Venice.

180 STUDIES FOR FIGURES FOR THE "VISITATION" AND FOR "ST. GEORGE BAPTIZING THE GENTILES."
In the Louvre.

181 STUDIES OF HANDS BY V. CARPACCIO.
In the Louvre.

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THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Academy, Vienna.

THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Museo Civico, Ferrara.

the skilful juxtaposition of the rounded and the ogival arch heralds the coming of a composite style of architecture.

At a later period Carpaccio painted another version of *The Death of the Virgin* on a panel 1 m. 44 cm. wide and about twice as much in height, once in the Baptistery of S. Maria del Vado at Ferrara, but now preserved in the Museo Civico of that city. Upon a label is inscribed, *Victor Carpathius Venetus MDVIII.* The painting, of exquisite design and glowing colour, does not differ very much in composition from the same subject executed for the Scuola of the Albanians. There are no portraits of the donors and no kneeling angels, but the analogy of both paintings is apparent in the architecture, the landscape and several of the figures: notably S. Peter, and an old man leaning upon a stick, who recalls a similar figure in *The Death of S. Jerome* at the Scuola degli Schiavoni.

The pictures painted for the Scuola of the Albanians certainly exhibit the most attractive side of the master's genius: his ingenuous realism, the faithful presentment of men and things in his day, sound imaginative restraint and an originality all his own in the composition. But among all Carpaccio's paintings these are in our opinion the least worthy of admiration. Poverty in drawing, feebleness and lack of harmony in colour,—with a predominant note of yellow ochre,—uncertainty in expression, and lack of the accustomed directness, a carelessness amounting even to negligence in certain details—all these defects lead us to suppose that, if the conception, and even the first sketches, were Carpaccio's the execution most probably, at any rate to a great extent, fell to the hands of his pupils and scholars. The opinion of a judicious critic, Signor Edwards, who assigned these works to Benedetto Diana, is based upon these considerations.

These pictures are now not only dispersed,—the *disjecta membra* of one body,—but have also suffered injury from time and at the hand of man. *The Birth of the Virgin* in the Accademia Carrara at Bergamo, though damaged by exposure, has at least escaped the restorer's grip, but from the two paintings in the Brera *The Presentation* and *The Marriage*, all harmony of colour has been lost through retouching, which has stained the canvases with blackened marks. The damage done by restoration is less serious, however, in *The Annunciation* and *The Death* in the Academy at Vienna; whilst *The Visitation* in the Museo Civico at Venice is in a yet better state of preservation.

CHAPTER X

CARPACCIO'S WORK FOR THE SCUOLE DI S. STEFANO AND S. GIOVANNI EVANGELISTA

FROM 1511 to 1520 Carpaccio was working for the Scuola di S. Stefano.

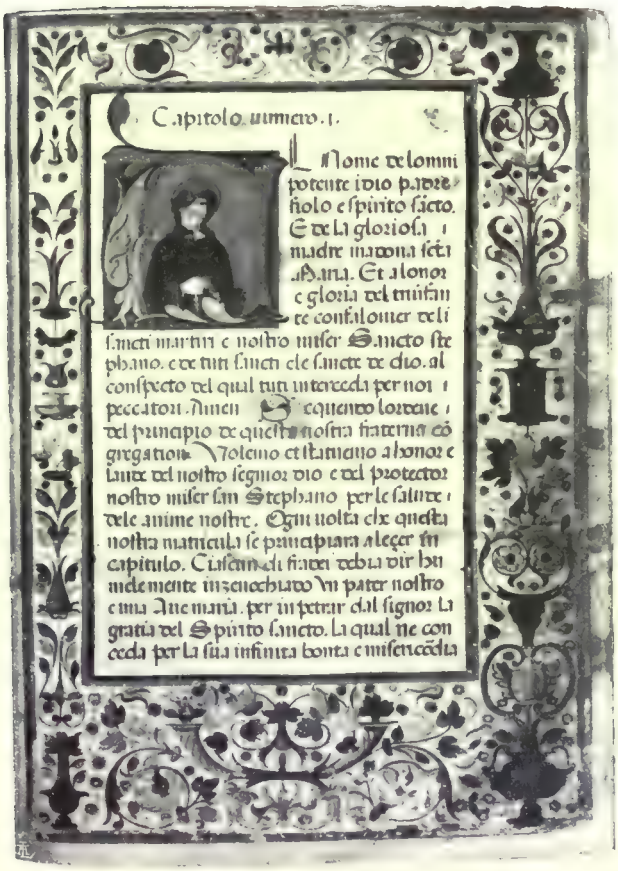
Around the church of S. Stefano and the adjoining convent of the Eremitani of the Rule of S. Augustine several Scuole sprang up such as those of the "Girdle of the Madonna" (*della Cintura*) and of S. Stefano; and, as usual, these Societies had their inception in the sacristy of the church. The earliest—though uncertain—record of the Scuola di S. Stefano dates as far back as March 3rd, 1298, but the development of the Society in less remote times can best be followed in the Mariegola, now preserved at the Museo Civico, which opens with the year 1493.[1]

It is a beautiful MS. on parchment adorned with very exquisite though somewhat injured miniatures. The first part contains the Rules of the Scuola, and the image of their Sainted Patron is introduced into the initial letter. The second comprises the history of the recovery of the relics of the Protomartyr, and this portion of the folio is decorated with two gracefully designed miniatures, delicately illuminated in gold and colours with beautiful landscape backgrounds, of *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and S. John*, and *The Stoning of S. Stephen*. The Saint is represented in his dalmatic and his assailants are clad in the fashion of the fifteenth century. These miniatures recall the manner of Bellini, but the critics to whom their elegant fifteenth-century style is reminiscent of Carpaccio ignore the fact that his connection with the Scuola di S. Stefano only commenced in 1511. The third part of the Mariegola comprises divers agreements and other entries which continue until 1801.

The burial-place of the Brethren was situated opposite the door of the church, which opens on to the wide graveyard adjacent, and

[1] *Mariegola*, No. 3.

185 Bas-relief on the Façade of the Scuola di Santo Stefano.



Capitolo uumero .i.

Il Nome de lomni
potente idio padre
fiolo e spirito sacto.
E de la gloriosa
madre madona sc̄ta
Maria. Et a lonor
e gloria del triūfan
te confalonier de li
sancti martiri e nostro miser Sancto ste
phano. e de tuti sancti e le sancte de dio. al
conspecto del qual tuti interceda per noi
peccatori. Amen Sequendo lordene
del principio de questa nostra fraterna cō
gregation. Volemo et statuemo a honor e
laude del nostro segnior dio e del protector
nostro miser san Stephano per le salute
dele anime nostre. Ogni uolta che questa
nostra matricula se principiara a leçer in
capitulo. Ciascun di fradei debia dir hu
mele mente in zenochiado un pater nostro
e una Ave maria. per impetrar dal signor la
gratia del Spirito sancto. la qual ne con
ceda per la sua infinita bonta e misericōdia

186 The Illuminated Page from the "Mariegola" of Santo Stefano.

they had their own benches for Divine Service in the principal chapel.

The Brethren in due course desired to possess a place of meeting of their own, and on February 20th, 1437 they entered into a contract with the Augustinians "to build a house and an honourable dwelling-place for the said Scuola to which the Brethren and the officials of the said Scuola could repair and perform their devotions" (*per fabricar una casa et habitatione onesta per ditta scola in la qual li frateli e officiali di essa scola si possino ridur e far le sue divotioni*). With this object a piece of ground was granted to them at a small annual rental in the churchyard of the monastery, "in which spot were two monuments of the said Scuola, which for the purpose of erecting their dwelling were removed" (*nel qual loco erano doi Monumenti di ditta scola, quali per la fabbrica di sua habitatione furono remossi*). The first building erected must have been very unpretending since it is designated as a "little house" (*casetta*). Several years later it was found necessary to again enlarge the residence "of the said Scuola," and on September 14th, 1476 the Augustinian friars granted the Brethren leave "to make below a chapel as high as the first course of beams and an altar within it, and above the said chapel to make a meeting-chamber for the aforesaid Scuola, which building shall be raised with discretion according as may be required for the building, and so that the Cross may be carried and processional lights held aloft without causing damage to the beams" (*di sotto una Capella per fino alla prima travatura et con uno altare dentro, et di sopra la ditta Capella far la sala insieme con la predetta Scola, la qual fabrica si possi levar in alto discretamente, secondo che si convien all' edificio et che se possa adoperar la mazza con la crose e dopieri inastadi in man tanto che non faci danno alle travamenta*).

The chapel was built and the tombs were placed before the altar dedicated to S. Stephen. In grateful recognition of the monks' kindness in granting the request of the Confraternity it was resolved that on the Feast of S. Augustine, Patron of the Convent, the Scuola should set up its Standard on the Campo di S. Stefano. These standards, the highly prized ensigns of the Scuole, were often painted by celebrated artists, and Matteo da Verona was eventually commissioned to decorate that of S. Stefano.

The demands of the Scuola as time went on would seem to have multiplied, and we find, thirty years later, the Augustinian monks in 1506 agreeing that they might "unhindered adorn the altar, set up benches around, and make other repairs, improvements, and decorations in their chapel such as shall be agreeable to the Brethren of the said Scuola for their devotions" (*liberamente ornar lo Altar far le banche attorno et altri concieri milioramenti*

et ornamenti in essa Capella far come a essi fratelli di ditta scola piacerà per divotione).

The name of Michele da Lezze occurs frequently in the contract between the monks and the Scuola as being their Governor and Protector. He was a descendant of Antonio da Lezze, the stalwart defender of Scutari, who, on his return to Venice, was accused of having concealed the truth in one of his despatches and was sent into exile in Istria. The Lezze dwelt in a palace still standing near S. Samuele, and their burial-vault was in the church of S. Stefano. Michele da Lezze, together with his brother and one of the Falier, founded in 1487 the church and convent of SS. Rocco and Margherita, not far from the Scuola di S. Stefano.

At its foundation this Scuola was intended for a Confraternity "of *Devotion*," but the circumstance that in course of time many of the members were workers in wool, gave it the name of the *Scuola dei laneri* (Wool-Staplers). The Wool-Combers' was a Guild of very long standing in Venice. Their Statutes dated as far back as 1220, when Giacomo Dandolo, Giovanni Gregori and Giovanni Capello were its Consuls. The trade flourished apace in the early years of the sixteenth century, and Scuole in connection with the calling were formed in several parishes. Their principal centre, however, was near the Rio Marin at S. Simeone Profeta, commonly known as S. Simeone *Grande*. Here the *Camera del Purgo* held their meetings:—a directorate of Wool-Staplers—who adjudicated upon the quarrels of the workmen, watched over the management of the workshops and the quality of the goods produced. In the sixteenth century the *Camera del Purgo* was removed to the Fondamenta della Croce, near the church of SS. Simeone and Taddeo, called in common parlance S. Simeone *Piccolo*. A fine painting by Carpaccio was preserved in this church, which has however now disappeared.

Like other associations of the kind, the Scuola of the Lanieri di S. Stefano prospered exceedingly, and in 1506, the year of the last-quoted contract, they commenced to add artistic decorations, of which Carpaccio's paintings remain to us as magnificent records.

The following century saw the declining prosperity of the Guilds, and the fortunes of the Wool-Trade also underwent an eclipse; especially when weavers on the main-land obtained the right to produce wide cloth, and the competition of English and Dutch manufactories drove Venetian goods from the market. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century the members of the Guild were so much diminished that the Scuola of the Lanieri were reduced to the straits of letting their lower chamber to a dealer in cheeses in order to raise their rent to the convent. The circumstance is recorded in a contemporary chronicle thus: "In the Campo di S. Stefano was a very ancient Scuola under the protection of the said Saint, consist-

ing of two apartments, and on the architrave of the first of these, which was afterwards converted into a shop for the sale of cheese, were carved these words: D. STEPHANO MARTYRUM PRINCIPI PIETATIS ET DIVOTIONIS CAUSA FRATERNITAS INSTAURAVIT MCCCCLXXVI: which were covered over with pieces of board." This inscription was copied by Grevembroch in a drawing of the relief representing *S. Stephen with the Brethren of the Scuola*, which has been built into the wall of a house opposite the façade of the magnificent church.

About the year 1800 Fate overtook the Scuola di Stefano and the neighbouring Scuola della Cintura, so that it was impossible to avert their final destruction; and some six years later they were both pulled down to provide building-sites.

Carpaccio's paintings had already been removed to a place of safety. They were not, like those of the Scuola of the Albanians, unknown to connoisseurs, since already in the seventeenth century Boschini mentions them in *Le Ricche Minere*, thus: "In the Scuola di S. Stefano near the church there are five paintings dealing with *The Life of S. Stephen*, full of figures and with very ornate architecture, by Vittore Carpaccio, by whom also is the altarpiece. In the three compartments of this latter, by the same artist, there are in the middle the above-named Saint and on either side *S. Nicholas* and *S. Thomas Aquinas*."[2] In accordance with the Decree of the Ten in 1773 providing for the Inspection of Works of Art Anton Maria Zanetti visited this Scuola on September 14th of that year and made the following entry in the Mariegola itself: "Five paintings with scenes from *The Life of S. Stephen*. The altarpiece with *the same Saint*, *S. Nicholas of Tolentino* and *S. Tomaso di Villanova*. All the paintings are by V. Carpaccio."

At the suppression of the Convents and Scuole in 1806 the pictures were taken to the Government warehouse, and the Delegate, Pietro Edwards, notes on October 20th, 1807 in the *Elenco*, as coming from the Scuola dei Lanieri di S. Stefano, the altar panel, which formed a triptych, of *S. Stephen*, *S. Nicholas of Tolentino* and *S. Augustine*, and four pictures representing *The Ordination of the Seven Deacons*, *S. Stephen preaching to the People*, *The Saint's Dispute with the Doctors*, and *His Martyrdom*, all in his opinion by Carpaccio.[3]

[1] Museo Civico. *Manoscritti Cicogna*, No. 264.

[2] Boschini, *Le Ricche Minere*, Sestiere di S. Marco, *Chiesa e Scuola di S. Stefano*, pp. 89, 90, ed. MCCLXXIV.

[3] *Arch. di Stato, Direzione generale del Demanio. Ufficio Economato Edwards. Elenchi ed Inventari. — Elencho degli oggetti di B. A. scelti a disposizione di S. A. I. Eug.o Nap. Vice Re d' Italia, Principe di Venezia per commissione dell' Int.za Generale dei Beni della Corona dal delegato P. Edwards.*

These paintings, like so many others at that time, underwent divers vicissitudes. The altar-triptych, in company with *The Preaching to the People* and *The Dispute with the Doctors* were sent at the request of the Viceroy, Eugene Beauharnais, to Milan for the Brera Gallery.[1] In 1812 the Emperor Napoleon directed an exchange of pictures to be effected between the Louvre and Brera Galleries, and in January 1813 *The Preaching to the People* and four other works were sent to Paris,[2] where Carpaccio's painting still remains.

Of the two scenes that were left in Venice, one, *The Ordination of the Seven Deacons*, was sold in 1820 to Signor David Weber, a wealthy owner of chemical works, whose palace at San Canciano contained a fine collection of works of art described in detail by Moschini in his *Guida di Venezia* in 1815.[3] This picture afterwards passed into the Solly Collection and is now in the Museum at Berlin. The last scene, *The Stoning of S. Stephen*, valued in a written estimate at 20 louis d'or, was, together with ten other paintings by various artists,—valued in all at 687,692 *lire*,—given by the Venice Academy in part payment for the purchase from the heirs of the painter Giuseppe Bossi of Milan of his celebrated Art Collection. The jewel of this collection was the so-called *Sketch-Book of Raphael*, which however, as Giovanni Morelli has justly affirmed, contains but two drawings by Raphael himself, whereas the rest are by Pinturicchio and other unknown artists of a later date.[4] Bossi's heirs subsequently sold these pictures to a Milanese dealer in works of art, and several of their number, together with another painting by Carpaccio representing *S. Thomas Aquinas*, were bought by the King of Wurtemburg, and placed in the Gallery at Stuttgart.

Since not a trace of the old building remains, to reconstruct the sequence of the Scuola di S. Stefano scenes would be a task of some difficulty but for the help of documents, which tell of an oratory and a staircase leading from the ground-floor to the meeting-chamber or *Albergo* above. It is probable that the entrance to this staircase opened from the chapel at the side of the altar, as

[1] *Arch. di Stato di Milano, Intendenza gen. dei Beni della Corona. Nota* 13 *settembre*, 1808.

[2] Ibid., *Rescritto Vicereale dato dal quartier generale di Souray*, 2 *agosto*, 1812.

[3] In the volumes of the Directorate of the Demanio, Vol. 342 (*Statistica, Quadri e capi d' Arte disposti ed esistenti al* 1827,10 *aprile*), in the portion entitled *Stato dei quadri di proprietà del Ramo Demanio estratti dal Depositorio dell' ex Commenda di Malta, e concessi a privati, chiese e pubblici stabilimenti della Prev. di Venezia* at No. 13 we read: "Scuola dei Laneri di S. Steffano. A painting on canvas representing *The Election of the Seven Deacons by S. Peter*—by Vettor Carpaccio. Consigned to S. Weber by a Decree of the Government, June 4th, 1830."

[4] Morelli, Giov., *Italian Painters. The Borghese and Pamphili-Doria Galleries.* (Translated by Miss C. Jocelyn ffoulkes.) Introduction, pp. 23, 24. London, John Murray, 1900. *Italian Masters in German Galleries* (translated by Mrs. Louise M. Richter), pp. 271-284. London, George Bell & Sons, 1883.

189 THE CONSECRATION OF THE SEVEN DEACONS.

we observe in the case of the Scuola dell' Angelo Custode at the SS. Apostoli.

On the upper floor the Albergo, a room of moderate proportions, was lighted by two windows looking upon the street. Facing the windows was the altar adorned by the triptych representing *S. Stephen and two other Saints.* The remaining four scenes were placed, two on either side, along the lateral walls, and, in view of the position of the shadows of the figures, we may suppose that *The Ordination of the Seven Deacons* and *The Preaching to the People* hung on the Gospel-Side; *The Dispute with the Doctors* and *The Martyrdom* on that of the Epistle.

The altar triptych is painted on panel, whilst the scenes from *The Life of S. Stephen*, of the same height but unequal length, are on canvas.

The three detached panels of this triptych, now in the Brera, for many years were separated, one by itself and the others in another room; and it is but a few years since that these paintings, which for three centuries were conjoined upon the altar of the Scuola, were united once more. They are unsigned, but Zanetti, Boschini and Edwards, as we are aware, firmly believed them to be Carpaccio's work: though later they were attributed to Vincenzo Catena and to Basaiti respectively. They are now, according to the opinion of Cavalcaselle and Giovanni Morelli, assigned to Francesco Bissolo. Whilst their paternity was being sought for their place of origin was forgotten and the three panels continued apart, although Cavalcaselle as far back as 1870 stated that they had together formed the triptych of S. Stefano. In our opinion also they are really the work of Bissolo.

Until recent discoveries showed that a painter named *Petrus de Inganatis* really did exist it was currently believed that Pier Francesco Bissolo, who was born in Venice in the latter half of the fifteenth century and died in 1554, concealed his painter's identity under this name, solely to mislead both critics and connoisseurs; and a *Madonna* preserved in the Gallery at Berlin bears this signature. The name of this obscure painter therefore should not be mistaken for the artist, who appended *Franciscus Bisollo* to that noble work, *The Coronation of S. Catherine of Siena*, formerly in the church of S. Pietro Martire at Murano, but now in the Venice Academy. The background of this truly beautiful work offers an extensive and pleasing view of a country-side with undulating hills upon which are set houses, turreted in that peculiar manner which is one of Bissolo's characteristics. Among other mannerisms Bissolo's draperies fall in softer folds than those of his master, Giambellino; his figures have charming heads and small, but beautifully drawn, mouths: whereas their hands are rigid with strangely malformed

fingers. These same peculiarities of design are to be met with in the S. Stefano triptych, formerly attributed to Carpaccio. This, moreover, is not the solitary instance in which Bissolo and Carpaccio have been taken for one another: for Boschini, Zanetti, and other critics have erroneously assigned the altarpiece in S. Giovanni in Bragora, representing *SS. Andrew, Jerome and Martin*, to the latter.

But as regards the S. Stefano triptych misapprehension arose not only in respect of the author, but also as to the identity of the Saints represented. Boschini, whilst attributing the painting to Carpaccio, writes in *Le Ricche Minere* that *S. Stephen* stands in the middle, and on either side *S. Nicholas* and *S. Thomas Aquinas*. The centre panel, which is larger than the other two, depicts without possible doubt *The Protomartyr Stephen*, upon whose person the stones, the instruments of his martyrdom, are naïvely poised. The bishop wearing a black robe and a green mitre should, according to Boschini, be *S. Thomas Aquinas*, and the monk in a black habit with a lily in his hand and an open book *S. Nicholas of Tolentino*. Zanetti on the other hand would recognize in the former *S. Tommaso da Villanova*.

The Scuola being, as we are aware, connected by so many ties both of devotion and interest to the Augustinian Convent, the artist would doubtless have been directed, when painting the altarpiece, to depict two Saints belonging to that Religious Order. The bishop thus would not be *Thomas of Aquinas*, who was a Dominican and never obtained the Episcopal Mitre; nor *Tommaso da Villanova*, who was still alive in 1506 when the decoration of the Scuola of the Lanieri was commenced; but, as Pietro Edwards wrote, is intended to be *S. Augustine* in the robe of the Order of the Eremitani or Hermit-Fathers. The other Saint with a lily in his hand indeed resembles the traditional presentment of *S. Anthony of Padua*, and the picture is thus described in the Brera Gallery Catalogue. But the *Santo* of Padua is always habited in brown, whereas Bissolo's Saint wears the black robe of the Augustinian Order and therefore must be intended for *S. Nicholas of Tolentino*. To this Augustinian Saint was dedicated a church and monastery in the Sestiere di Dorsoduri, near which, in the *Salizzada S. Pantalon*, stood another Scuola dei Lanieri acquired in 1789 by the College of Apothecaries.

Bissolo's triptych, which was completed perhaps in 1506, formed the starting-point, some years later, for Carpaccio's series of paintings.

The Life of the Saint, whose burning words awakened the people and confounded the disputing Doctors, and who crowned his mission by a martyr's death, was a noble subject for our craftsman's genius; and once more we see how *The Golden Legend* serves the painter as a guide, whose ingenuous language tells of the Seven Deacons

190 S. Augustine S. Stephen. S. Nicholas of Tolentino.

By P. F. Bissolo. In the Brera, Milan.

ordained by the Apostles, among whom Stephen was the foremost. We follow the young Saint "*of angelic countenance*" through his addresses to the people and his clever disputations with the Jews, who could not resist the Wisdom and the Spirit that spoke through him, and we are present at his martyrdom, when, accused wrongfully of blasphemy against the Lord and against Moses, he is dragged outside the city and violently stoned ; whilst he, the first Martyr for the Faith of Christ, imitates his Master's fortitude by praying on his knees for his murderers, "until he fell asleep in the rest of the Lord."[1]

In the first scene, *The Ordination of the Seven Deacons*, the principal figures are grouped before a church with columns and a portico in the Renaissance style, which terminates in a massive mediæval castle. To the spectator's left rises an oddly shaped hill surmounted by an Oriental tower, at the foot of which we notice a Pagan temple. On the steps of the Christian church stands S. Peter blessing the seven kneeling Deacons. The attitudes of the group recall *The Presentation in the Temple* of the Scuola of the Albanians, and we are confronted once more with certain of the painter's favourite types: the child playing with a dog, a figure similar to the little boy in *The Presentation*; the old woman seated on the steps, who bears a family likeness to the characteristic old lady in the painting of *The Ambassadors* in the *S. Ursula* Cycle; and the two women in the centre, reminiscent of Reuvich's designs. In the left-hand corner a group of Orientals completes the composition.

This scene as regards condition, colour and drawing is one of Carpaccio's most beautiful works. He was then in the flower of his age since he completed the picture in 1511. The frame bore, as Zanetti tells us, the inscription:

Manfredus Lapicidio et Collega conspicabilem picturam hanc tempore eorum regiminis posuerunt MDXI.

Brethren of the Scuola di S. Stefano, who, like the Gastaldo Manfredo, exercised the trade of stonemasons (*taiapiera*), are several times recorded in the Mariegola, although the Stone-Masons' Guild had a Scuola of their own at S. Apollinare, adorned with two altarpieces ; one by Bartolomeo Vivarini (now in Vienna), and the other by Catena.

In *The Preaching to the People*, which according to *The Acts of the Apostles* follows *The Ordination of the Deacons*, the painter desiring of course to represent Jerusalem, seeks inspiration recklessly among Reuvich's drawings. The monumental edifice

[1] *Legendario de Santi vulgare hystoriato novamente revisto ecc.* Composto per el Rev^mo. Padre Frate Jacopo da Voragine ecc. p. 18 e seg. Venetia, Bindoni e Pasini, 1533. Cfr. also *The Acts of the Apostles*, chapters vi, and vii.

to the spectator's left greatly resembles the Mosque of Omar: on the hill above rises the church of the Holy Sepulchre with its noble tower, whose slender minarets, rising above buildings of Oriental character which adjoin others of classic Roman style, distinctly recall Reuvich's sketches. Scattered about the background are groups of minute figures, among whom nevertheless we easily recognize the Holy Women and the characteristic Saracen.

In the foreground the Deacon, erect upon the pedestal of a ruined monument, is addressing the people, who hang upon his words with profoundest attention. This expression is peculiarly noticeable in the beautiful countenance of a youth, who seems rapt in the fervour of the Deacon's eloquence, and of five Turkish women, who are listening devoutly to the Word. The crowd, robed in Oriental garb, forms a singular contrast to the handsome young neophyte, wearing a mantle draped in graceful folds, and the pair of pilgrims, staff in hand, in the foreground. The date MDXX written on the painting was in a label, seen by Zanetti, but subsequently removed when the picture was cleaned.

The Dispute with the Doctors (now in the Brera Gallery) hung opposite *The Preaching to the People.* It still bears a label with the date 1514, and upon the frame the name of a sculptor, who according to Zanetti was probably the Gastaldo of that day. Carpaccio here represents S. Stephen speaking with arms extended, as though inspired by supernatural force. But the listeners around him are no longer Oriental infidels. There are but *three* turbaned Gentiles: all the rest are good and faithful Christian folk, children of the Lagoons, clad after Venetian fashion, who are, it is true, listening devoutly, but without paying over-much heed to the discourse. Assembled under a magnificent Romanesque arcade the hearers seem so true to life, so thoroughly Venetian, that they certainly must once have been recognizable individually among the members of the Scuola dei Lanieri.

THE GROUP OF THE PYRAMIDS OF GHIZEH.
From a drawing by Reuvich.

That we may not however forget the Eastern atmosphere of the scene the painter has taken the trouble to introduce a kind of pyramid into the background, perhaps intended to represent that of Ghizeh; doubtless copied from Reuvich, whose pyramids present a curious elongated shape in three tiers, a sort of—may the shade of the artist forgive me!—Eiffel-Tower, anticipated by four centuries. Beside the tower is an equestrian monument recalling in a measure Donatello's *Gattamelata.*

Not thus however had this scene taken shape in the artist's imagination. A drawing in the Uffizi shows us the Doctors, vanquished in argument, dragging the Deacon before the Judgment-Seat. In a court, whence we descry the distant hills, bearded

S. Stephen disputing with the Doctors
The Brera Gallery, Milan

191 S. Stephen preaching to the People.

THE STONING OF S. STEPHEN.

judges wearing Eastern attire are seated at a long table set upon a daïs. This drawing was certainly the first scheme that Carpaccio proposed to develope on his canvas, as is shown by the care lavished upon certain studies of heads, now preserved in the British Museum.

Why was this sketch never carried out? Maybe the approbation of the Brethren was lacking. The Scuola probably were sated with Oriental costume, and aspired to seeing their own portraits, as was customary in the other Scuole, in one at least of the scenes. Be this as it may, Carpaccio's canvas, after so great a lapse of time, shows us their speaking likenesses.

The Stoning of S. Stephen takes us once more to Jerusalem; and here the inspiration of Reuvich is yet more clearly manifest alike in the architecture and the landscape depicted. We have said how Reuvich's large panoramic view of *Jerusalem*, included in Breydenbach's work, shows at the extremity of the drawing —but within the city wall—"the spot where S. Stephen was stoned" (*ubi Sanctus Stephanus fuit lapidatus*).[1] Carpaccio copies this part of the city exactly, but following *The Golden Legend* places the scene of the Martyrdom as *outside* the wall. Light is thus thrown on Carpaccio's letter of August 1511, in which the painter offers to sell to the Marquis of Mantua, Francesco Gonzaga, a large bird's-eye view of *Jerusalem*, "painted in water-colour on canvas" (*de acquarella sopra la tella*), which was probably a copy of Reuvich's panorama.[2]

In the scene of *The Martyrdom* the Saint in deacon's robes kneels with eyes lifted heavenwards, whilst a number of men in Eastern dress and wearing turbans, are casting stones at him, as Dante describes:

Poi vidi genti accese in foco d' ira,
  Con pietre un giovinetto ancider forte
  Gridando a sé pur: "Martira, martira";
E lui vedea chinarsi per la morte,
  Che l' aggravava già, in vêr la terra,
  Ma degli occhi facea sempre al ciel porte,
Orando all' alto Sire in tanta guerra,
  Che perdonasse a' suoi persecutori
  Con quell' aspetto che pietà disserra.[3]

[1] Cf. p. 40. [2] Cf. p. 28.

[3] With fury then inflamed, I saw a crowd
  Stoning a youth; and as they struck each blow,
  "Away with him, away!" they cried aloud,
I saw him, as to earth he bent at last,
  Weighed down in death by the o'erpowering blows;
  But steadfast still to heaven his eyes he cast,
In that dread conflict, to the Lord above
  Praying for pardon on his ruthless foes,
  With gentle look that doth to pity move.
(*Il Purgatorio*, Canto xv. ll.106-114. Translation by I. C. Wright, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Bohn, London, 1857.)

Priests and warriors on the opposite side witness the Martyrdom, in attitudes resembling the group of bystanders in the fragment of a *Crucifixion* by Carpaccio, now in the Uffizi. *The Stoning of S. Stephen*, preserved in the Museum at Stuttgart, was, it is true, injured by restoration, but it appears to us the weakest of the series, and though revealing all the artist's time-honoured genius for narrative, yet displays a lack of directness in drawing, and a colouring in which brown and yellow tones predominate in a manner that we do not meet with in his earlier work.

The series for the Scuola dei Lanieri was not painted according to the historical order of the Saint's life: *The Ordination of the Deacons* was finished in 1511, *The Dispute with the Doctors* in 1514, *The Stoning* in 1515 and the *Preaching to the People*,—which for a long time was believed to have been Carpaccio's last work,—in 1520. The by-no-means brief intervals that elapsed between one painting and another may be explained by the finances of nearly all the smaller Scuole, who were constrained to collect the money required for embellishments from the voluntary donations of the Brethren, a portion of the amount needful being levied in the tax, called *luminaria e pane*.

With the Cycle of *The Life of S. Stephen* closes that larger, and in fact most important part, of Carpaccio's artistic career, which, opening in 1490 with the paintings at S. Orsola, comprised his work for the Scuole, those representative institutions of Venetian popular life. The painter's manifold activities which we have endeavoured to describe were called forth by humble fellowships, who have drawn more honour and renown from Carpaccio's name than from any power of their own. Had the artist's fame not, so to speak, shed imperishable glory upon the Scuole di S. Orsola degli Schiavoni, degli Albanesi, and dei Lanieri di S. Stefano their memory would have been lost amid a host of minor sodalities, powerless in any measure to rival the more important Scuole; especially those that on account of their wealth and their privileges were denominated the *Great* Scuole.

The artist, who had painted in the Doge's Palace and enjoyed the uncontested appreciation of his fellow citizens, could not fail to attract the notice of the wealthier and more illustrious confraternities; thus Carpaccio, whilst still young and with creative perceptions still alert and brilliant, was called upon to prove his abilities on behalf of the *Scuola Grande* of S. Giovanni Evangelista, one of the *six* greater and most privileged of these Associations.

A pious Brotherhood of Flagellants, who from 1261 onwards had assembled in the church of S. Apollinare, transferred their quarters early in the fourteenth century to S. Giovanni Evangelista and in 1340 obtained for their meeting-place an almshouse erected

195 Bas-relief on the Façade of the Hospital of San Giovanni Evangelista (1354).

196 The Outer Courtyard of the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista (1481).
School of S. John the Evangelist.

by the Badoer family for the reception of poor women. The Brotherhood built another hospice for these poor creatures and set to work to reconstruct the older building, completing it in 1354. In 1481 the Scuola was embellished with wonderful decorations in sculpture and architecture. Nothing indeed can be more graceful than the archway of the forecourt, surmounted by *The Eagle of St. John* carved in the tympanum, and adorned with exquisite marble tracery, in harmony with the fluted pilasters which support the magnificent screen. A noble double flight of stairs leads to the *Albergo*, where the entire scheme of decoration,—altar, pavement and ceiling,—all bear witness to the craftsmanship of one of those perfect Lombard artists, whose genius contributed so great an impetus to Venetian Art. The Scuola thus became the worthy home of the precious fragment of the True Cross, which Philippe de Meizières, Grand Chancellor of the King of Cyprus, had presented in the year 1369 to the Brethren of S. Giovanni Evangelista; a gift which they enshrined in a silver-mounted crystal case, fashioned in the form of a cross: a fine example of Veneto-Byzantine goldsmith's work.[1] Public veneration for this Holy Relic was enhanced by the miracles that it was reported to have worked. Among other marvels tradition narrates how one day, when the Scuola was proceeding in state to the church of S. Lorenzo, the reliquary containing this Treasure was, owing to the pressure of the crowd, dropped into the canal and yet remained miraculously afloat; how the Brethren who jumped in to the rescue could not succeed in reaching it, for by a fresh prodigy the Relic escaped from their hands, until Andrea Vendramin, the Guardian of the Scuola, threw himself into the water, and by Divine Favour was permitted to recover it. This incident and other miracles of the Holy Rood were told in paintings which testify at one and the same time to the religious sentiment and artistic taste of the Brethren of S. Giovanni: and the Hall, which was in fact placed under the invocation of the "Holy Cross" (*della Santa Croce*), was hung with these compositions, representing in the fullest degree the genius of Quattrocento Venetian Art.

This was the Hall where Carpaccio painted the scene, now in the Venice Academy, which shows *The Patriarch of Grado, Francesco Quirini, in the loggia of his palace casting out an evil spirit by the virtue of the Relic of the Holy Cross* (3 m. 61 cm. × 3 m. 85 cm.). Cavalcaselle assigns the date 1494 to this painting, but no documents remain to substantiate with any degree of certainty either the year, the sum of money spent, or indeed any information whatsoever regarding the pictorial decoration of this

[1] This precious reliquary was carefully repaired in 1789.

chamber. Gentile Bellini likewise worked there, and his two pictures, *The Procession in the Piazza di S. Marco* and *The Miracle of the Cross in the Canal of S. Lorenzo*, bear date, the one 1496, and the other 1500. It is probable therefore that the same period, that is to say, the latter years of the fifteenth century, saw Vittore Carpaccio, Lazzaro Bastiani, Giovanni Mansueti, and Benedetto Diana summoned along with Bellini to adorn this noble apartment.

Similarly with those of the Scuola di S. Orsola this work suffered sadly through the structural alterations undertaken by the Brethren when desiring in 1544 to open two doors from the Sala della Santa Croce into their new Albergo; and "it was found necessary to cut a small portion off the canvases" (*fu bisogno toglier un poco delli telleri*) that adorned the walls.[1]

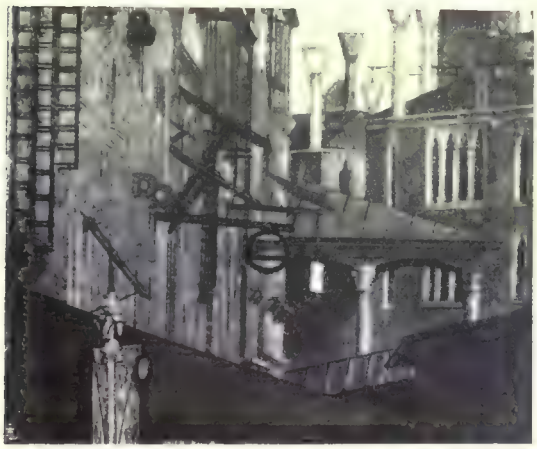
The Governing Body of the Scuola, before carrying out this mutilation, wished to procure an authoritative opinion, "and there was brought to the spot the discreet master Titian, painter, a man whose experience is known to every one" (*et fu menato sopraluoco el prudente messer Tizian pictor, homo della sperienzia che a cadauno è noto*). Titian, who had decorated the *new* Albergo and was possessed of scant scruples where the work of other painters was concerned, "advised that the said canvases should be cut from the bottom, which will be about one and a half of the fourth part (*i.e.* one-third), by which cutting no damage will be done to the said canvases" (*consegliò si dovesse tagliar ditti telleri da basso che saria de quarta una e mezzo in circa, per el qual taglio non farà danno alcuno alli ditti telleri*).

Thus Carpaccio's work and Benedetto Diana's painting of *The Brethren of S. Giovanni Evangelista distributing Alms* were reduced along the bottom by a space of about 30 cm.

In the course of the seventeenth century further restorations and alterations occurring in the Scuola Carpaccio's painting was removed from the Sala della Santa Croce and set up elsewhere. An endeavour was then made to repair the cut, which in 1544 had amputated the feet and part of the legs of several of the figures, amongst which the most noteworthy are a gorgeously garbed Cavalier of the *Calza*, a patrician robed in cloth of gold, a little lad and a senator in a black gown. A piece of canvas, 27 cm. deep, was added at the foot of the picture, but so clumsily as to leave the stitches plainly distinguishable. The hapless seventeenth-century restorer tried his best to complete Carpaccio's beautiful composition after his own ideas, particularly noticeable in the patrician, whose gold-embroidered robe recalls the cut of a modern

[1] *Arch. di Stato. Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista.* Reg°. No. 38 (from 1301 to 1601), c. 308.

197 A Miracle of the Cross.
By Gentile Bellini. In the Academy, Venice.



198 Sign of the Hostelry of the Sturgeon.

199 The Patriarch Quirini liberating a Demoniac.

200 Sketch by V. Carpaccio of a Boy.
Albertina Collection, Vienna.

201 A Cavalier of the Calza.
By Cesare Vecelli.

202 Sketch by V. Carpaccio of a Gondolier.
From the Robinson Collection, London.

203 Sketch by V. Carpaccio of a Cavalier of the Calza.
Albertina Collection, Vienna

overcoat. Neither is the figure of the Cavalier less injured, the original drawing for which is in the Albertina Collection in Vienna on the same leaf with a sketch of the little lad introduced into this picture. The figure of the Cavalier was adopted by Cesare Vecellio in his *Degli Habiti.*

Despite its many injuries the painting yet affords a most forcible representation of the popular life of Venice. Well-planned grouping and correct architectural perspective, careful brushwork and brilliant colouring unite with the wonderful atmospheric effect in sky and water in producing a composition of singular beauty and power. The Patriarch's Palace, which stood upon the Grand Canal near S. Silvestro, rises to the spectator's left. The open two-storeyed loggia is the single detail which the painter chose to create from his imagination, and he lavishes thereon all the architectural beauty of the Renaissance. Wide open arcades supported on slender and graceful pillars,—beneath which stroll groups of noblemen in conversation,—sustain an upper loggia adorned with tall Lombard columns.

Quirini, the Patriarch, a stately figure, stands attended by priests at the door of the loggia, with the Relic of the Holy Cross in his hand, blessing the afflicted man who has been freed from his possession. Surrounding the sufferer are the Brethren of the Scuola, some standing, some kneeling, bearing long candles. The procession unfolds along the Fondamenta, at that time called *del Ferro*, but now *del Vin*, and across the *wooden* bridge of the Rialto.

We may also observe curious and valuable details of old-time architecture; the tall funnel-shaped chimneys, clustering above the roofs, the terraces (*altane*) from which extend long poles with linen bleaching in the sunlight. From the façade of a house a sign—a sturgeon—marks the position of the very ancient Tavern, *del Sturion*, which was closed about 1511, but which gave its name to the lane.[1]

The dark-green water of the Grand Canal is of a wonderful transparency: that same transparency which a far-distant descendant of Carpaccio, Giacomo Favretto, achieved so well in his painting, *The Traghetto.* The gondolas are not yet the sober craft of to-day uniformly hung with black, but little narrow boats decked with many-coloured and variegated draperies, with the hoop—the prototype of the modern *felza*—across the seat, and two small iron *rostra* at either end. Among the gaily dressed gondoliers in elegant costumes upright upon the poops attention is drawn to one of those Moorish slaves who used to be employed as rowers. A drawing by Carpaccio for the figure of a gondolier is now in Sir Charles Robinson's Collection in London.

[1] Tassini, *Curiosità Veneziane*, cit. p. 711.

Beyond the Rialto, which at that period (1507) was "much injured and rotten" (*valde devastatus et putridus*), and which it was intended to replace by a stone bridge,[1] extends a line of buildings, many of which are standing to this day.

The Fondaco dei Tedeschi, only begun in 1505 under the direction of Antonio Scarpagnino from the designs of a German architect named Maestro Girolamo, was not then built, but Carpaccio shows us in his painting the massive building which still rises upon the Canale dell' Olio to the right of the Fondaco, the point of the campanile of S. Giovanni Grisostomo, and further on the Palazzo da Mosto and the pinnacle of the campanile of the SS. Apostoli rising above the roofs.

The bridge, the Fondamenta and the boats are alive with moving throngs, an exact reproduction no doubt of the types and the costumes of the artist's day, instinct with the living spirit of the period. Nowhere does old Venetian life present so true or so attractive a picture, or tell us with greater force and clearness the story whispered in the painter's ear by the people and their city.

[1] *Arch. di Stato*, Cons. X. *Misti*, Reg. 31. C. 158t. (22 ottobre, 1507).

204 SAMSON AND DALILA.
By Michele da Verona. In the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan.

205 KNEELING FIGURE OF A DONOR.
Sketch by V. Carpaccio in the Uffizi, probably for the Picture once belonging to the Church of "San Simeone Piccolo."

CHAPTER XI

THE OTHER WORKS OF VITTORE CARPACCIO AND OF HIS SON BENEDETTO

LET us now examine such isolated paintings by Carpaccio as have come down to our times.

Modern criticism has rendered unnecessary the task of pointing out the erroneous assignation of not a few of the paintings which in old Catalogues of Galleries, public and private, have passed under his name. We would only observe that in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli in Milan there is a painting 1 m. 22 cm. wide × 76 cm. high, remarkable for the originality of its composition and bearing the spurious signature *Victor Carpathius*, which, according to Giovanni Morelli, ought instead to be attributed to Michele da Verona, an artist who flourished between the years 1500 and 1523.[1] The painting represents *Delilah directing a youth hidden amid the folds of her robe how to cut the locks of the sleeping Samson.* The three figures are clad in fashionable fifteenth-century costume and the scene is enacted on a terrace with a background of landscape and towers.

The ancient church of Noale, a hamlet in Venetia, contains in the sacristy an altar-panel representing *S. John the Baptist with SS. Peter and Paul* on either side. This has always been assigned to Carpaccio, and Crico in his *Lettere su le Belle Arti Trivigiane*[2] gives an enthusiastic description of the painting. But our Vittore certainly was not its author, and everything points, as Cavalcaselle observes, rather to the workmanship of Vettor Belliniano.

In the choir of the Cathedral of Serravalle (Vittorio), beside the altarpiece painted in 1547 by Titian, opened two canvas doors of the old organ with *S. Andrew accompanied by SS. Agatha, Peter, and Catherine* on one wing and *The Annunciation* on the other;

[1] Zannandreis, *Le Vite dei pitt., scult. e arch. veronesi*, pp. 99 e seg. Verona, 1891. — Michele da Verona's most important work is *The Crucifixion* (3 m. 36 cm. × 7 m. 16 cm.), which passed from the convent of S. Giorgio at Verona into the Brera Gallery.

[2] Venice, 1803.

whilst the parapet-panels were embellished with several fine paintings attributed to Mantegna.[1] Certain critics, Crico among the number, have attributed these doors to Carpaccio, and others to Francesco da Milano, who about the middle of the sixteenth century stayed a long time at Serravalle, where he executed several works, becoming known therefore as "*il Serravallese.*"[2] But if we examine his paintings under the loggia of that city and the panel of *The Baptism of Christ* in the church of S. Giovanni we find that the two canvases in the Cathedral bear no resemblance to Francesco's, still less to Carpaccio's, work, but display rather certain characteristics of the Tuscan School.

Without delaying any longer over the paintings falsely attributed to Vittore, we would rather mourn the loss of the paintings in the Ducal Palace (destroyed by fire in 1577); together with a number of other works from his brush which have either perished or otherwise disappeared.

The church of S. Antonio di Castello, now demolished, which once contained *The Ten Thousand Martyrs* and *The Procession of Penitents* (*Crociferi*), was also adorned by a third composition by Carpaccio, recorded by Vasari,[3] but it must have vanished at a very early date, since no mention of it is to be found in *Le Minere* of Boschini. That writer, however, on the other hand, alludes to another altarpiece "by the hand of Vittore Carpaccio" representing "*Mary with her Child and two small angels who crown her, and four portraits with their names written above on labels.*"[4] This *beautiful panel*, as Zanetti styles it,[5] was kept in the Cloth-Weavers' quarter near the church of SS. Simeone and Taddeo (*San Simeone Piccolo*), and was consigned in 1796 to the custody of the Notary of the Provveditori di Comune, as we learn from Inspector Maggiotto's Reports to the State Inquisitors.[6] Upon the restoration and removal of certain paintings at the church of SS. Trinità (*Santa Ternita*) this work of Carpaccio's—probably at the request of the parish-priest—was brought thither. A minute of the painter-restorer, Giuseppe Baldassini, dated March 25th, 1811 records how he had caused to be transferred

[1] These pictures—preserved for a long time in the sacristy—disappeared some years since.

[2] *Almanaccio Diocesano di Ceneda.* Anno ix. 1848.

[3] "For the Altar of the Resurrection of Christ in the church of Sant' Antonio, this master depicted the appearance of the Saviour to Mary Magdalen, and the other Maries, with the perspective view of a distant landscape, which diminishes very finely." Vasari's *Lives.* Translated by Mrs. Jonathan Foster. London, H. G. Bohn, 1851. Vol. ii., p. 338.

[4] Boschini, *Sestiere della Croce*, p. 10.

[5] *Della Pittura Veneziana*, p. 41. Venezia, Albrizzi. MDCCLXXI.

[6] *Arch. di Stato. Inquis. di Stato*, b. 909. *Reports of the Inspector, Francesco Maggiotto* (reported October 18th, 1796). Maggiotto says: "Now from what has been reported to me this altarpiece has passed into the hands of the Notary of their Excellencies the Provveditori of the Commune; but of that I have no certainty."

from the church of S. Ternita to the store-rooms at S. Lorenzo "a painting which represents *The B.V. the Child and two angels,* "*and below four Portraits*, the work of Vettor Carpaccio."[1] After that it disappeared, and from the investigation ordered in 1830 by the Office of Crown Property (*Direzione Generale del Demanio*) we learn that it had been burnt, along with another equally damaged work by Pordenone. Indeed, in his first Report, dated 1808, Pietro Edwards offers the rough-and-ready suggestion "to throw "into the fire all the irretrievably spoiled paintings."

There is a beautiful drawing by Carpaccio in the Uffizi Gallery of a donor kneeling in prayer, perhaps a study for this painting which perished so miserably.

Records yet remain of other lost works. In the church of the Madonna della Carità Boschini describes a panel in "many "divisions and with a multitude of figures depicting *The Life of* "*S. John the Baptist*: as also there is at the bottom a small "compartment with many figures, and above at the top *Our Lord* "*on the Cross.* The whole the work of Vittore Carpaccio."[2] But that it was really by Carpaccio there arises some doubt, when we read in the *Anonimo Morelliano* that: "The picture on panel in "tempera, representing *S. John the Evangelist* (*sic*), with little "scenes in the predella (*scabello*), in the small chapel on the left "side of the main altar (*of the church of the Carità*), is an "admirable work by Giovanni Bellini. I believe that the predella "is by Lauro Padovano."[3] At all events, be the painting by Carpaccio or Bellini, or whether it represented *S. John the Evangelist* or *S. John the Baptist*, certain it is that in Zanetti's day it was already well-nigh reduced to nothing (*all' ultimo fine*)[4] and disappeared soon afterwards altogether, with the exception of the predella by Lauro Padovano, a pupil of Squarcione, which is now preserved in the Kaufmann Collection at Berlin.

In the chapel of S. Maria della Pace, since suppressed, near the convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Martinelli mentions *A Saint in the habit of a Knight, with a banner in his hand*,[5] of which

[1] *Ibid. Direz. Gen. del Demanio* (1808–1813). Note inserted at No. 7854, fasc. 1.

[2] Boschini, *Sestiere di Dorsoduro*, p. 34.

[3] *Notizia d'op. di disegno. Ed. Frizzoni*, p. 231. Bologna, 1884. *The Anonimo. Notes on Pictures and Works of Art in Italy.* (Translated by Paolo Mussi. Edited by George C. Williamson, Litt.D.) p. 129. London: George Bell & Sons, 1903.

[4] Zanetti (p. 39) writes: "In the Church of the Carità, in the chapel next the Sacristy, "there is, or rather was, a panel by Carpaccio with the history of S. John the Baptist. Time "has reduced it almost to its last end." Francesco Sansovino (*Venetia città nobilissima*, with Martinioni's additions. Venetia. MDCLVIII) also writes on p. 266: "The altarpiece of S. John "the Evangelist, painted in tempera, was executed by Giovanni Bellino, and the *scabello* below "was the work of Lauro padovano."

[5] Martinelli, Domenico, *Il ritratto di Venezia*, p. 176. Venezia. MDCCV. The first edition was published in 1684. The painting is mentioned also by Boschini in *Le Ricche Minere.* There were three niches: *S. John the Evangelist, a Saint in knightly armour*, and *The Eternal Father* above.

the ultimate fate is not known: nor that of two other paintings, one of *S. George*, and the other of *SS. Peter and Paul*, recorded as being at the Abbey of S. Maria del Pero in the diocese of Treviso.

In the sacristy of S. Giovanni at Brescia there was a *Virgin between SS. Faustino and Giovita, Protectors of the City*, with three angels playing musical instruments on the steps of the throne. This painting, signed *Victor Carpathius Venetiis 1519*,[2] passed into the possession of the Averoldi family, and was sold by them in 1869 to a Milanese dealer in works of art, who resold it to the National Gallery in London. It was, however, unfortunately lost at sea on its way thither. A beautiful drawing remains and is now in the Cabinet of Engravings at Dresden, (where it is wrongly attributed to Giovanni Bellini [3]), of the Virgin enthroned with the two sainted legionaries holding their palms of martyrdom in their hands, and the three angel-musicians and a mountainous landscape in the background.

Da Persico mentions in Verona a collection of pictures in the possession of Signor Bartolomeo Balbi, among which there was a painting by Carpaccio. The Balbi Collection was sold and nothing more is known of the Carpaccio. Nor do we know either what became of another small painting, also once in Verona and sold by the Giusti family, which bore the inscription: *Opus Victori Carpatii Ven.*[4] There were likewise in Verona three other pictures attributed to Carpaccio which have since disappeared: A *Virgin* in the Galleria Caldana[5] and two *Landscapes*, carefully executed but of doubtful authenticity, in the Galleria Albarelli.[6] Nor yet is the fate known of a painting with the most probably spurious inscription, *Victoris Carpacci Venetus opus*, which Moschini avers was in Padua in the possession of the Buzzacarini family at S. Spirito.[7]

On the other hand it would seem that Carpaccio's great polyptych of *SS. Christopher, Peter Martyr, Paul, Sebastian and Roch*[8] recorded by Boschini as being in the church of Sta Fosca, was not wholly lost. The painting must have disappeared during

[1] Cicogna, *Iscr.* iv., 318, n. 178.

[2] Chizzola, *Le pitt. e scult. di Brescia.* Brescia. CIƆIƆCCLX.

[3] On the margin of the yellowish paper above may be read the spurious signature: *Johan Bellino.* The Catalogue of the Dresden Gallery also attributes the drawing wrongly to Bellini.

[4] *Descr. di Verona* ecc. ii., pp. 45, 50. Verona, 1820.

[5] *Descr. delle op. di pitt. racc. dal Sig. F. Caldana.* Verona, Tommasi, 1822, p. 20. The Caldana Collection has been dispersed.

[6] *Succinta descr. della Raccolta Albarelli.* Verona, Mainardi, 1816, p. 8.

[7] Moschini, *Guida di Padova*, p. 172. Padova, 1813. Vincenzo de Castro, in his *Vita del Carpaccio*, published in the collection *Il Preludio* (Venice, 1848), speaks of a painting by Carpaccio *existing in Padua in the possession of the Capodilista family.* But this family have no record of such a picture.

[8] Boschini, *Sestiere di Cannaregio*, p. 54.

206 SKETCH FOR THE LOST PICTURE OF THE VIRGIN, SS. FAUSTINO AND GIOVITA.
By Vittore Carpaccio. (Wrongly attributed to Giambellino.)
In the Print Room, Dresden.

207 S. PETER MARTYR.

208 S. SEBASTIAN.

209 Sketch by Vittore Carpaccio for "The Virgin and Four Saints."
From the His de La Salle Collection in the Louvre.

210 Water-colour Sketch by Vittore Carpaccio for the Figure of S. Jerome.
In the Uffizi.

the complete restoration of this church, since there is no mention of it in the *Guida* published by Anton Maria Zanetti in 1733. But it is credible that the two panels of *SS. Peter Martyr* and *Sebastian* noticed by Frizzoni in the Strossmayer Collection at Zagabria (where also are two other paintings erroneously assigned to Carpaccio) may have formed part of this polyptych. They are not, however, among his best works, and, as Frizzoni observes, would seem *but little characteristic* of the artist. The *S. Sebastian* panel is inscribed *Victor Carpathius venetus opus MDXIV.*

Of other paintings by Carpaccio, either unknown or never executed, drawings exist in which the craftsman's primary conceptions are set down.

The His de la Salle Collection in the Louvre includes a pen-and-ink sketch for an altar-panel, somewhat hesitatingly drawn and with shadows washed in with the brush. It represents *The Madonna and Child*, seated upon a throne in the form of a niche with *SS. John and Jerome* on the right, and *The Baptist and S. Dominick* on the left hand. As was his custom, having committed his first sketch to paper, Carpaccio studied his figures singly, and preserved in the Uffizi there is a fully completed sketch for the figure of *S. Jerome*: facing, however, in the contrary direction to the personage in the Louvre drawing. This study goes far to demonstrate Carpaccio's skill in the arrangement of drapery, which he disposes with a grand breadth of treatment around the venerable person of this Saint.

For another painting, of which no trace remains, there is a drawing in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. Of this drawing the exact meaning is not clearly defined. Mr. Sidney Colvin would discover in it a representation of *S. Ursula taking leave of her parents*,[1] and moreover sees in the whole scene something that recalls the painting in the Layard Collection. But we would observe that the central figure, bending forward and bowing the knee, is not a woman; nor is the personage standing opposite King Maurus, Ursula's father, but rather a prelate, greatly resembling the traditional likeness of the Patriarch, S. Lorenzo Giustiniani, as he appears in Gentile Bellini's composition. We suggest therefore that this drawing represents an Episode in *his Life*, and it does not seem far-fetched to suppose that Carpaccio, who actually did in 1523 paint several pictures (since lost) for the Patriarchate of Venice,[2] was commissioned to depict a scene from the holy life of the City's first

[1] Colvin, *Über einige Zeichnungen des Carpaccio in England.* (*Jahrbuch der K. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 18. Berlin, 1897.)

[2] 1523. 30 *nov. per il Revmo mes. Ant. Contarini . . . contadi per resto della pala de legno duc. uno e per cuntadi a m. Vetor Scharpaza per aver depento la ditta pala duc.* 52 *in piui fiade, com putta uno teler de la Natività del Signor a duc.* 53". (*Mensa patriarc.* B. 67. Reg. III, c. 31.) Cf. p. 51 and Documents at page 241 of this work.

Patriarch. We do not desire that our suggestion should pass the bounds of mere conjecture, but if we study the life of Giustiniani in all its phases, we may nevertheless succeed in reconstructing the scene in question. In a biography of S. Lorenzo, compiled in the fifteenth century by one of his relatives, Bernardo Giustiniani, we are told that, not only did the principal men of Venice, from the Doge downwards, appeal to the Patriarch for advice and, like the general, Bartolomeo Colleoni, present him with large sums of money for distribution among the poor, but that even the most famous foreign princes entreated to approach the saintly man to obtain his blessing.[1] If, as it would really seem, the principal figure in the drawing be Giustiniani, the episode would represent the Patriarch giving his blessing to some illustrious personage. And everything leads us to believe that the personage in question is the young son of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, who in 1455 was sent by his father to Venice with injunctions, says the biographer just quoted, "before everything else to visit the Holy Patriarch, *that he might place his hands upon him and be commended in his prayers.*" The journey, which Gian Galeazzo performed in barges (*ganzaruoli*) down the Po, is described in Sanudo's *Cronaca.* He tells us how the Doge

[1] "But now he was full of days: and his name and *fame were day by day widely spread abroad.* No one came to this city who did not before all other sights desire to visit this father: I make no mention of the common herd and nameless crowd, who, wherever he went, looking upon him as an angel sent down from heaven, crowded the streets and public places. Cardinals and all Dukes and Princes visited him in his house to see his way of living, to feast their eyes on his bedchamber, refectory, and all things, and to venerate them. *Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan and Bianca his wife, sent Galeazzo their son,* eldest in years and of great promise, while still a youth, to Venice. They sent him with that principal object that the boy should be brought before the Holy Man, and that placing his hands upon him he *might be commended by his prayers.* Bartolomeo Colleoni, the most famous leader of that age, brought him a vast amount of gold, which he distributed to the poor. Which was rare and singular in the military hero on account of his devotion, and in our father on account of his virtue. Now guests and pilgrims of all sorts and kinds; Pannonians, Germans, Gauls, Spaniards, whether on their way to Rome to the abodes of the Apostles, or to the East to the Sepulchre of the Lord, hoped for the breezes of fortune if they had procured the blessing of this father. In the greatest perils truly our Doge and Senate never failed to appeal to him for advice, as if to some oracle."

(. . . *Caeterum iam plenus erat dierum: nomenque illius et* fama latius quotidie fundebatur. *Nemo veniebat ad hanc urbem: qui non vel imprimis spectaculis appeteret hunc patrem videre: Taceo vulgus et turbam sine nomine: qui quacumque incederet ad eum visendum veluti ad angelum de coelo demissum per vias et compita concurrebant. Cardinales omnes Duces et Principes; domi eum invisere: vitam investigare: thalamum, coenaculum cubile omnia lustrare oculis et venerari.* Franciscus Sfortia Mediolani Dux et Blanca uxor Galeatium maiorem natu et magnae spei Filium adhuc impubem Venetias cum misissent: illud imprimis mandavere: ut puerum ad Sanctum virum deducerent. Ad imponendam illi manum: et eius orationibus commendandum. *Bartholomaeus Collionus Clarissimus hac aetate Dux magnam ad eum vim auri detulit: quam in pauperes dispartiret. Quod fuit et in militari viro propter devotionem: et in patre nostro propter opinionem: rarum et singulare. Iam advenae et peregrini omnis ordinis et generis, pannones, germani, galli, hispani: vel qui Romam ad limina apostolorum: vel qui in Orientem ad Dominicum sepulcrum pergerent, tum felices auras sperabant si benedictione hujus patris accepta discederent. In maximis vero patriae periculis Dux noster atque senatus non aliter ad illius orationem confugere: quam ad oraculum quoddam.*)

Clarissimi Oratori Bernardi Justiniani opusculum de Vita Beati Laurenti Patriarchae Venetiarum: *Impressum Venetiis labore et industriae Jacobi de Rubeis Gallicii Duce Inclyto Petro Mocenico Sextus Idus Maios.* MCCCCLXXV.

211 SKETCH BY VITTORE CARPACCIO OF SAN LORENZO GIUSTINIANI BLESSING GIAN GALEAZZO SFORZA.
From the Duke of Devonshire's Collection at Chatsworth.

212 STUDY BY VITTORE CARPACCIO.
In the Cabinet of Prints, Munich.

213 Sketch by Vittore Carpaccio for "The Adoration of the Magi." In the Uffizi.

214 Sketch by Vittore Carpaccio of "The Circumcision." In the Uffizi.

proceeded on board the *Bucentaur* as far as the island of S. Clemente to meet his honoured guest, and accompanied him with great pomp to Venice, to the Palace of the Marquess of Ferrara.[1] If so much honour was shown to the young Prince it is not improbable that Giustiniani, in order to gratify the Duke of Milan's courteous wish, should have desired to forestall the Doge himself in welcoming the young Sforza, and that therefore he went to meet him in some country place near Venice. The drawing, as a matter of fact, shows us a river with the boats from which the Milanese Prince has just landed, carrying a reliquary in his hands—a gift it may be from the Duke his father to the Patriarch. Followed by his courtiers he approaches the prelate and bends his body forward in that attitude of reverence so frequently repeated by Carpaccio in his compositions. The prelate advances with one hand raised in the act of benediction. He is attended by two priests, some men on horseback and a squire, who faces the Prince and is depicted in the same respectful attitude. The figure of the squire in this sketch is indicated only by a few uncertain and hesitating strokes, but it reappears once more,—this time completed,—in a pen-and-sepia study preserved in the Cabinet of Engravings at Munich.

Two other compositions which were probably never committed to canvas, since we find no allusion to them either in the writings of authors or in public documents, are disclosed in two drawings now preserved in the Uffizi Gallery. One of these, *The Adoration of the Magi*, is a pen-and-ink sketch; the other, a water-colour of *The Circumcision*, represents perhaps the first conception that flashed across the craftsman's mind when he obtained the commission for the great altarpiece of *The Presentation of the Infant Jesus to the High Priest Simeon* for the church of San Giobbe.

The pencil acted as an incentive and aid to Carpaccio's creative genius, and the graceful figures of his compositions assume corporeal form in these leaves, whereon the impressions of the artist's brain and the observations of his watchful eye are set forth in pen or pencil touch, heightened with white lead or relieved by strokes of sepia or bistre. The idea that first strikes his mind is immediately secured upon paper with hasty strokes of the pen in hurried and broken lines, very different from other drawings of single figures with the shadows deepened by bold brush-work in black ink, or heightened with white chalk in parallel strokes, which endows the sketch with characteristic and forceful ruggedness. Indeed in studying Carpaccio's drawings, some instinct with that spirit and grace with which he imbued the best of his paintings, others feeble and lacking in spontaneity, or others again the inspiration of a

[1] Sanudo, *Cronica*, p. ii. c. 74 A. Bibl. Marciana. Cl. vii. It. Cod. 125 (cviii-4).

moment barely jotted down in haste, we may note,—hesitation and diffidence apart,—how the thoughts of this truly observant artist-soul gave life and form to the creatures of his imagination.

Painstaking diligence in the minute search after detail should have precluded very vast pictorial activity; nevertheless Carpaccio, not content with exhibiting his unbounded energy in the Venetian Scuole, yet found time to execute many other paintings; some, as we have stated, now destroyed or lost, others—and those not a few—remaining for the admiration of posterity.

Some of these paintings, though outside the pictorial Cycles of the Scuole, have already been mentioned in the course of this book; of others we will now treat, in order to complete the portrait of this unique artist.

Carpaccio's fancy dwelt with complacency upon any subject that pleased him specially, whilst varying it somewhat in composition, as though he had failed to exhaust in a single painting the conception that had once filled his mind.

Thus the piteous *History of S. Ursula*, told so splendidly in several large compositions, was given renewed life in another charming but smaller painting, formerly in the Manfrin Picture Gallery, whence it came into the Layard Collection. Like the scene in the Scuola di S. Orsola it represents *The Departure of the Betrothed Pair*. The splendid pageantry of the larger work is here replaced by a more restrained and familiar sentiment. The departing lover, seated in his boat, is leaving the shore, whilst Ursula kneels alone to receive her father's blessing. An atmosphere of tender sadness hovers over all.

Another subject, *S. George killing the Dragon*, executed in the Scuola degli Schiavoni, is repeated in a picture for the Winter Choir of S. Giorgio Maggiore, where, represented in smaller proportions and with some few variations, the Saint reappears astride his war-horse driving his lance into the dragon's jaws. Around the monster skulls and remains of men and animals lie scattered on the ground. To the right a thickly wooded hill and a castellated edifice complete the scene; to the left on a rocky eminence we descry *S. Jerome engaged in Prayer*. The poetry of nature, reflected by the verdant uplands and pellucid lake, is expressed in this work by an original spirit, foreshadowing already Titian and Giorgione. In the four divisions of the predella are represented the scenes of *S. George's Martyrdom*; he is bound to a column and tortured, then cast into a cauldron of molten lead; he is thereupon entreated by the compassionate Prefect to sacrifice to the gods, and finally is beheaded.

Of the painting at Ferrara, *The Death of the Virgin*, similar to the work executed for the Albanians, we have already spoken.

In the examination of Carpaccio's remaining works we propose,

George and the Dragon

215 S. Ursula taking Farewell of her Parents.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Layard Collection, Venice.

216 S. Catherine and S. Veneranda.
In the Museo Civico, Verona.

THE MADONNA.
From the Städel Institute, Frankfort.

as far as probability and history admit, to follow a chronological sequence, referring either to the date inscribed upon the paintings themselves, or endeavouring to distinguish between the several methods and mannerisms employed by the artist at various periods of his life.

We believe that, in regard to the artistic life of our painter, we can prove the incorrectness of the affirmation that his *first* work was the composition representing for the Scuola di S. Orsola *The Arrival of S. Ursula at Cologne when besieged by the Huns*,[1] which bears upon it the date 1490. It is difficult to believe, we repeat, that the painter, who had outstepped by some years the third decade of his lifetime, had not already completed some work of merit, or that a Public Body would have entrusted a work of such importance to one whose skill and abilities were still unknown. To Carpaccio's very earliest youth seem to belong certain timid attempts, in which the teachings and methods of Bastiani are evident; but of the paintings completed in the flower of his manhood none, we are bound to say, are known, or have come down to us. The first noteworthy works wherein Vittore stands free from the trammels of school and as an expert in his profession are, in our opinion, the two *Saints* in the Museum at Verona, attributed till now to Bissolo, and *The Virgin* in the Städel Institute at Frankfort.

The painting in the Verona Museum portrays *SS. Caterina and Veneranda*, two figures drawn with painstaking timidity but already revealing Carpaccio's gifts in their fine colour, clever arrangement of drapery, well-planned chiaroscuro and nobility of type.

The painting of *The Virgin* now at Frankfort,—having come thither from the Pereire Collection in Paris,—bears the signature *Victoris Carpatio veneti opus* without a date: but it seems to us that it should be reckoned among the painter's youthful works, since more than any other it betrays Bastiani's influence. The scene is one of intimate domesticity, entirely withdrawn from the liturgical iconography of Catholicism. The Divine Infant of tradition is transformed into a little lad wearing the dress of the fifteenth century, who sits turning over the leaves of an illustrated book, whilst near him another small boy points out the pages with his forefinger. These two sturdy children are probably portraits of the Donor's offspring. Facing the spectator is the Virgin praying with folded hands, in a sober and dignified attitude, her countenance gracefully pensive and void of any worldly thought. The contrast between the devout expression of the Virgin and the realistic group of the two little boys affords us the first indication of that tendency peculiar to Carpaccio of blending inseparably ideal conceptions with the realities of daily life.

[1] Cf. pp. 40 and 106 and Translator's Note at the end of this work, p. 223.

He had just completed the *S. Ursula* Cycle—which for us marks the commencement of his fame—when in 1496 he painted for the church of S. Pietro Martire at Udine the composition *Christ with the Symbols of His Passion pouring out His Life's Blood into a Chalice.* This picture, bearing the name and date: *Victorio Charpatio Venitti opus MCCCCLXXXXVI*, was taken to the Imperial Museum at Vienna in 1838; as appears from an entry by Pietro Edwards in a schedule of the paintings brought from the towns on the mainland to the Crown Store-Rooms in Venice.

In the distance spreads a landscape of verdant uplands, with houses and towers scattered about in profusion. To the right may be seen the battlemented stronghold of Udine, the town for which this work was destined. In the centre, before a handsome brocaded curtain, Jesus stands upright, holding the Cross to His Side with His left Hand, whilst with His right He points to the chalice upon the ground, into which His Blood is pouring from the Wound in His Side and from the Stigmata in Hands and Feet. Four angels, to the right and left, carry the Symbols of the Passion. The nude figure of the Redeemer is somewhat rigid and hard in treatment, but the angels, who, moved by compassionate devotion, turn their gaze upon the Divine Martyr, are conceived with great beauty and force. The composition is *le fruit d'une méditation quadragésimal* to the mystic critic, M. Rio, and he discerns in the attitude and features of the angels an intensity of expression *à laquelle il serait impossible d'ajouter quelque chose.*[1] *Christ pouring His Blood into a Chalice* affords an example of religious symbolism peculiar to Venetian devotional ideas; which moreover also prevails in Austria, where the cult probably had its origin. In S. Stephen's Cathedral at Vienna there is a chapel dedicated to *Christus dem Seitenblutspender.*

A picture, signed *Victor Carpacius pingebat*, bought from the Campana Collection in Rome and placed in the Louvre—where Cavalcaselle saw it—was subsequently removed to the Town Gallery at Caen. The powerful effect achieved by great restraint in method, and the vigour in chiaroscuro which gives so powerful and unusual a projection to the forms, show us an artist already matured in talent, who, possessing perfect control over his material, impresses upon it his conception with singular lucidity of expression. Amid a pleasant and smiling country, which fades into a background of distant perspective, *The Virgin and Child* are seated with the youthful *Baptist*; and on either side of them are angels, one of whom plays the cymbals and the other a harpsichord or *dulcimer.* To the

[1] Rio, *L'Art Chrétien*, vol. iv., p. 113.

JESUS SHEDDING HIS BLOOD INTO THE CHALICE.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Imperial Museum, Vienna.

219 THE HOLY FAMILY.

By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Gallery, Caen.

left kneels *S. Anne*, and beyond in the corner *S. Joseph*: to the right are *S. Joachim* and *S. Elizabeth* who is engaged on a piece of needlework. Although the painter's manner appears here somewhat forced, and the drawing is lacking in grace, the figures are carefully modelled with most lifelike accuracy, whilst the domestic details are depicted with a quiet dignity, rarely encountered in the work of Italian painters. It reminds us of the tender human feeling instinct in certain Transalpine paintings, notably Albrecht Dürer's works; despite the perceptible differences in the genius of the two peoples from whence each artist sprang. In the mind of the homely German, who delineates the identical subject, the scene is enacted in the close tranquillity of a chamber. The Madonna is a wom and a mother, and the angels become kindly sprites, busying themselves in performing friendly domestic service in the home. The Italian painter on the other hand causes his angels to sing and play joyously: smiling nature displays her beautiful and fantastic imagery; and the Holy Family, assembled beneath a great o'er-arching rock, dwell under the stars. Upon the wide natural bridge above them the craftsman has contrived to introduce two scenes from *The Life of S. Jerome: The Saint with the Lion* and *The Saint in his Cavern.* The latter subject is once more repeated in the background of the above-mentioned painting for S. Giorgio Maggiore.

This *Holy Family* was probably completed in the year 1502, since the drawing of *S. Jerome and the Lion*, which the painter has adopted in the Cycle concluded about the same time for the Scuola degli Schiavoni, served him also for the episode of *The Saint with the Lion* in the Caen painting.

Whilst Carpaccio was engaged upon the decoration of the noble residence of the Head and Magistrates of the Republic, and at the same time of the modest Oratory of the Scuola degli Schiavoni, he yet found leisure to paint the great altarpiece signed *Op. Victor Carpathius MDVII.* (2 m. 66 cm. × 1 m. 36 cm.), to-day an ornament of the Stuttgart Gallery. It is a well-drawn and finely coloured composition, wherein smooth yet unconstrained brushwork displays great richness, breadth and grandeur of treatment. Amid the clouds of Heaven and encircled by cherubs *The Virgin with her Babe in her arms appears above S. Thomas Aquinas*, who is seated on a throne over which four angels support a curtain. Before him upon a small table lies a book, and the Saint holds up his forefinger as though in discourse. To the right of the Angelic Doctor is *S. Mark*, to the left *S. Augustine*, beside whom kneels the youthful son of Tomaso Licinio, the Donor.

The Licini, a family to whom belonged several well-known painters, were Bergamasque. Originally from Postcantù (now called

Poscante), they descended from their native mountains and migrated, some to the neighbouring towns in the plain, such as Lodi, Casalmaggiore, Cremona etc., whilst others in greater numbers settled in Venice, where they traded in wool, or became cloth-weavers and glass-blowers of repute. Upon the Island of Murano the great glass factories at the Signs of the *Pigna Aurea*, the *Cappello*, and the *Dragone* belonged to the Licini, whilst other individuals of the same name were employed at various other Murano works, as for instance at that of the celebrated Berovieri. Fame and fortune came their way, they were inscribed in the *Libro d' Oro* of Murano, and spent their well-earned wealth in deeds of charitable and artistic munificence. Among these men, Tomaso Licinio, owner of the glass-furnace at the Sign of the *Drago*, erected at his own expense the altar of S. Thomas Aquinas in the church of S. Pietro Martire at Murano, and gave Carpaccio a commission for the painting, in which his son Alvise is portrayed kneeling. The painting was believed by Zanetti, in his "Revision" of Boschini's *Minere*, to be the handiwork of an anonymous painter "*with a manner ancient and of great beauty*"[1]; nor indeed was it recognized as Carpaccio's work, even by Moschini.[2] Michele Caffi, however, in a letter addressed to Cicogna (May 8th, 1858) points out that the name of the author and the date are clearly inscribed upon the picture itself, which, along with certain other works by Paul Veronese and Bissolo, were in 1807 removed from the church of S. Pietro to the Accademia di Belle Arti. This painting was shortly afterwards handed over by the Academy to the Milanese painter Giuseppe Bossi in exchange for his well-known Collection of Drawings and it remained for some time longer in Venice, until disposed of to the picture-dealer Antonio Barbini, whose heirs sold it to the King of Wurtemberg.[3]

The church of S. Giobbe is one of the most graceful among Renaissance buildings. Enlarged in 1470 by the direction of the Doge Cristoforo Moro, the wonderful sculptors, Pietro Lombardo, Ambrogio da Urbino and Giovanni Buora lavished their skill upon the walls, and Giovanni Bellini about 1479 painted for the church *The Madonna with her Babe seated on a throne surrounded by SS. Giobbe, John the Baptist, Sebastian, Francis and Louis.* Bellini received the commission from a family, whose coat of arms,—a horse erect with a docked tail,[4]—is sculptured on the column of

[1] Boschini, *Pubbl. pitt. di Venezia*, p. 447. Venezia, 1733.
[2] Moschini, *Guida di Murano*, p. 54. Venezia, 1808.
[3] Cicogna, *Iscr.* VI. 903.
[4] Cicogna (*Iscr.* VI. 563.) could find no coat of arms at all like this among the armorial bearings of the patrician and citizen families of Venice. The Cavalli bear a horse with a flowing tail, couped by a bar charged with three stars.

S. Thomas Aquinas, S. Mark and S. Augustine.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Gallery, Stockholm.

the great arch above the second altar to the right of the main entrance, which was formerly adorned by this magnificent painting.

Two other altars on the same side of the church call for notice.

The first was the property of the Foscari family, who ordered from Marco Basaiti the altarpiece *Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane*, which was finished in 1510, when Vittore Carpaccio also completed for the third altar his great picture, *The Presentation of the Infant Jesus to the High Priest Simeon* (4 m. 12 cm. × 2 m. 21 cm.). Upon the arch above this is carved the Sanudo escutcheon.

The disordered taste of the seventeenth century invaded this most beautiful church, and to procure sufficient space for the tomb of the French Ambassador, d'Argenson,—an exaggeratedly ornate work by Claude Perreau (1651),—it was found necessary to move the Sanudo altar. Consequently the tombstone of the family vault before the altar now lies a little to the right of the steps. On the slab is cut the following inscription:

PHILIPPO SANUTO PETRI FILIO
CORPORIS FORMA PRÆSTANTI ACRI INGENIO
MORIBUS CLARO ANIMI
INTEGRITATE CLARISS.
LAURA NATA UNICA.
GENITORI P.P.

Laura Sanudo, who dedicated this memorial to her father Filippo (*obiit* 1504), married, first in 1512 Giovanni Foscari, and secondly in 1533 Antonio Bollani.

Cicogna justly believes that the Sanudo family, who erected this altar at their own expense, likewise commissioned Carpaccio's picture. But the learned author of the *Iscrizioni* does not tell us the name of the Donor, who we may, however, from information derived from contemporary documents, affirm to have been Laura's grandfather, Pietro Sanudo di Matteo. Cicogna, drawing upon untrustworthy sources, places the demise of Pietro in 1489, whereas he was certainly still alive in 1509, for we have found among the Deeds of the convent of S. Giobbe[1] his Will, dated 1509, wherein *inter alia* it is stated that he was executor to the Will of the Doge Cristoforo Moro,[2] who was buried in the church he had loved so well. Pietro Sanudo doubtless shared the Doge's affection for this most beautiful place of worship, and the provisions of his Will devise munificent benefactions after his death both to it and to the convent

[1] *Arch. di Stato., Manimorte, Convento di S. Giobbe.* Ba. I. *Test. e scritture*, Fasc. i.

[2] "*Et perchè mi attrovo commessario del quondam Serenissimo misser Cristophalo Moro fo doxe de Venezia* ecc.," *Test. di Pietro Sanudo* cit.

adjoining.[1] The altar, constructed in 1510 and adorned by Carpaccio's painting, was without doubt therefore erected by that family. Bellini's, Basaiti's and Carpaccio's altarpieces have all been removed to the Venice Academy, and the latter beside his two famous rivals excels not only in elegance of form but also in tenderness and devout feeling. Here indeed he shows to us that his talent and eye were not merely tuned to the accurate portrayal of the festivities, the pageants and the varied scenes of Venetian life, but that he could likewise draw into his soul and interpret for us the abandonment of religious fervour freed from that mysticism which is so disturbing to the pleasing expression of a youthful *joie de vivre.*

From the vault, adorned with mosaic, of the chapel wherein the episode takes place hangs a lamp of graceful shape. The High Priest *Simeon* in Pontifical robes reverently advances, whilst two Levites hold the ends of his rich dalmatic of purple and cloth of gold. *The Virgin*, attired in a red robe and blue mantle with a white veil draped over her head, presents *The Divine Babe.* Beside her stand *S. Anne* and a woman carrying two doves in a basket. The drawings in the Gathorne Hardy Collection in London, which Carpaccio used for his altarpiece at the Scuola di S. Orsola, likewise served the painter for these two female heads.[2] Three angels of remarkable beauty seated on the steps in the foreground are playing a flute, a violin and a harp. Upon one of the steps is a label with the painter's name and the date: *Victor Carpathius MDX.*

This lovely composition awoke the quaint Boschini's poetic enthusiasm in the following lines:

> ". . . . a San Giopo . . . una pala tal
> Ghè appresso a Zambellin che molto val
> Nè i sa a chi dar la palma in fede mia.
> Là se ghe vede in ato venerando
> San Simion Pontefice divin,
> Che la Madonna ghe porze el Bambin:
> Pala certo operà con studio grando.
> El veder quelle done gloriose,
> Che assiste a la gran Madre del Signor,
> L'è do figure de somo valor;
> L'è tute esempio, tute religiose.

[1] "*Ittem lasso che il ducati* 10,000, . . . *i quali di sopra faccio notta che li prò se pagerà vivendo madona Crestina mia consorte sia soi, et dappoi la morte soa d'essa mia consorte, siano scritti et posti,* . . . *per laudar in la Chiesa de messer San Bernardin e San Giobe, et in tutto il Monastero, et per lo viver et vestir et bisogno de tutti li frati starano in lo detto luogo con la condition starano al predicto quali voglio semper sia per li miei comessarij despensando il lavorar, crescer, et ordinar la detta Chiesa et luogo in la qual sarà il mio Corpo, et per lo viver et vestir de tutti li frati habitanti del ditto Convento, così deputadi e messi per lordene suo, lasciar nel Monastero, et questo si come per li tempi parerà esser il megio, et di più bisogno in laude et gloria nel nostro Signor Gesù Cristo e reverentia de messer San Giobbe.*" *Test. di P. Sanudo* cit.

[2] Colvin. Article in *Jahrbuch*, vol. 18, cit. Cf. p. 110.

Le ha quele teste tute adorne e bele;
Dei panni el saldizar molto e zentil;
Ogni habito xe nobile e civil
Ben aggiustado a Verzene e Donzele.
Quei sacerdoti, che con devotion
Sustenta el manto d'oro al Santo Vechio,
Ne rapresenta un religioso spechio
E ne fa tutti star con atention.
In suma ogni motivo e positura
Xe efeto d'artificio e de dotrina,
Certo se ghe pol dir cosa divina;
Model del Cielo, esempio alla Natura.
Ma, perchè in la so Pala Zambelin,
Per condimento de quel nobil quadro,
Fà tre anzoleti, che in modo legiadro
Sono liron, laüto, e vïolin,
El Carpaccio ha volesto ancora elo
Mostrar el so valor a concorentia,
E a fato veder che anca la so scientia
Sa far visi celesti col penelo.
Si che l'hà situà con modo instruto
Tre del Ciel Paraninfi gratïosi,
Con istrumenti varij e curïosi
Un flauto, un vïolin, l'altro un laüto.
Che par apunto de veder do Cori
De figure celesti a far concerti;
E i uni, e i altri si legiadri, e esperti,
Che rapisse a chi i vede i sensi e i cuori.
Sì che inzegnoso garizava, e scaltro
Questo, e quel de virtù, de cortesia
In quel arte, che muta è poesia,
Ma che se fa sentir senza dir altro." [1]

[1] *La Carta del Navegar pittoresco*, ecc., p. 34. Venezia, 1660.

". . . At San Giobbe . . . such an altarpiece
Is by Zambellin's side who is much renowned
Nor wot I in truth to whom to give the palm.
There we may see in act of reverence
Saint Simeon, the Holy Pontiff,
To whom the Madonna presents the Child:
An altarpiece in deed wrought with great power.
The sight of those saintly women
Who escort the great Mother of the Lord,
They are two figures of highest merit;
They are all ensamples, all religious.
They have their heads all adorned and beauteous,
Of cloths the drapery ample and sumptuous,
Every garment noble and suitable,
Well suited to the Virgin and her maidens.
Those Priests with what devotion
They sustain the golden mantle of the aged Saint,
It doth shew a religious pageant,
And all should study it with attention.
In fact every movement and attitude,
Be it the effect of skill or teaching,
It can certainly be called a thing divine,
A model from heaven, to nature an example.
But, because in Zambelin's altarpiece
For the composition of that noble picture
He made three small angels in winsome mood
Playing lyre, lute, and violin,

Anton Maria Zanetti errs in believing that beside the other two paintings by Giambellino and Basaiti, Carpaccio's renowned competitors, our artist's value appears diminished[1]; although Lanzi agrees that Basaiti was a more successful rival of Giovanni Bellini than Carpaccio.[2] But if there is no occasion now to demonstrate Carpaccio's superiority over Basaiti,—a vigorous master but devoid of originality, who underwent Vivarini's influence, softened later by that of Giambellino,—neither does it seem that Bellini has here outstripped his rival. Modern criticism has done justice to our Vittore's work, and Cavalcaselle lays down as an axiom that, if Bellini surpasses him in magnificence of colour, Carpaccio, alike in purity and restraint of design and in grandeur of conception, excels in this composition, which Milanesi in his annotations to Vasari considers the painter's masterpiece.[3]

"You have no similar leave, however, . . ." exclaims Mr. Ruskin, "to find fault with anything *here*! You may measure "yourself, outside and in,—your religion, your taste, your knowledge "of art, your knowledge of men and things,—by the quantity of "admiration which honestly, after due time given, you can feel for "this picture.

"You are not required to think the Madonna pretty, or to "receive the same religious delight from the conception of the scene, "which you would rightly receive from Angelico, Filippo Lippi, or "Perugino. This is essentially Venetian,—prosaic, matter-of-fact,— "retaining its supreme common sense throughout all enthusiasm.

"Nor are you required to think this a first-rate work in Venetian

Carpaccio wished also thus
  To show his skill in competition
  And has made us see also his capability
  Of producing celestial visions with his brush.
So he has placed in a well-poised manner
  Three beauteous heavenly messengers
  With curious and varied instruments
  A flute, a violin, and the third a lute,
So that we seem in fact to see two choirs
  Of celestial beings making music,
  And both so gladsome and so masterly
  That they carry away the spectator's heart and senses.
Thus also ingeniously he rivals and craftily,
  This man the other two with worth and courtesy
  In that art which though silent is poetry,
  But which makes itself felt whilst uttering no sound.

[1] "The genius and the industry of Carpaccio can be seen united in this work, which is "in fact one of his most beautiful. He has singular charm and beauty in his colouring, as "Vasari observes: but he does not attain to the taste and force of the neighbouring painting "by Gian Bellino, or the other by Basaiti."—Zanetti, *Pitt. Ven.* cit. p. 38.

[2] Lanzi, *St. Pitt.*, vol. vi., p. 48. Venezia, Milesi, 1838.

[3] Rosini also in his *Storia della pitt. it.* (T. IV., p. 151, Pisa, 1843) rebels against the opinions of those who think that Basaiti from his painting at S. Giobbe should be considered a better painter than Carpaccio and Giambellino.

"colour. This is the best picture in the Academy precisely because "it is *not* the best piece of colour there ;—because the great master has "subdued his own main passion, and restrained his colour-faculty, "though the best in Venice, that you might *not* say the moment "you came before the picture as you do of the Paris Bordone (*The "Fisherman's Ring*), '*What* a piece of colour!'

"To Paris, the Duke, the Senate, and the Miracle are all merely "vehicles for flashes of scarlet and gold on marble and silk, but "Carpaccio, in this picture of *The Presentation*, does not want you "to think of *his* colour but of *your* Christ. . . . . "Give time to it," he concludes, "and if you don't delight in it, the "essential faculty of enjoying good art is wanting in you. . . ."[1]

John Addington Symonds standing before Carpaccio's angels compares the accuracy in the drawing and the loveliness of their shapes with Fra Angelico's presentments so full of ascetic rapture. But Mr. Symonds shrewdly notes how Carpaccio was the true interpreter of the devotional spirit of the Venetians, where common sense overruled the emotional impulses of the heart. So likewise in his devotional scenes and in the Life-Stories of the Saints, he defines the typical character and manhood of his race and the characteristic and distinct impress of his native land. In asserting this we should not be understood to imply that this consummate artist, even in those sacred incidents depicted during the course of the most brilliant and happiest period of his artistic career, was not inspired by religious sentiment; nor that he was in any way the forerunner of those artistic free-lances who, turning ever more and more to the realism of classic antiquity rather than to Christian sentiment, were Pagan even in their representations of Christ and the Madonna, of angels and saints. Carpaccio indeed unites a careful observation of nature with a singularly attractive form of religious sentiment, and throughout the very triumphs of Renaissance pageantry reproduced in his work there rings as it were a far-distant echo of the Middle Ages. Worldly pomp he regards from the threshold of the Church; and fervent desire and prayer, mystical love and emotional thrill, the ethereal fancies of new-born antiquity together with the Evangelic Vision, Pagan imagery and Christian sentiment, all mingle in him with ineffable harmony of expression. From this union of Truth and Idealism he draws that delicacy of form which we seek for in vain among the Titans of Venetian Art. Better than the suave equanimity of the female ideal of sixteenth-century artists, his women attract by their candid

[1] Ruskin, John, *Guide to the Principal Pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice*, pp. 16–17. Complete edition, revised and corrected. George Allen, London, 1891.
Italian Translation by Signora Pezzé-Pascolato in the volume, *Venezia*, pp. 238, 239. Firenze, Barbéra, 1901.

simplicity, the radiance of their glances and the rosy transparency of their countenances, which leave upon the soul as it were an impression of fair and unsatisfied visions. Carpaccio is ingenuous and true to nature; spontaneous and powerful; and if we study him patiently in his work no exaggeration will be found in the opinion of the critic who perceives in him at once Raphael's purity and seductive charm combined with that splendour of Venetian colouring such as no other School has ever equalled.[1]

Carpaccio stood already upon the threshold of old age when he executed this painting, which forms the high-water-mark of his genius. Within this period also we believe should be placed another fine painting, bearing his name, but no date, and which as an eminently secular subject is in strong contrast with the customary reserve and restraint of the ingenuous and attractive narrator of Saintly legend. The celebrated painting of *The Two Courtezans* in the Museo Civico at Venice is what Mr. Ruskin considers for "perfection of "execution and essentially artistic power of design the best picture "in the world," asserting that he knows "no other which unites "every nameable quality of painter's art in so intense a degree— "breadth with minuteness, brilliancy with quietness, decision with "tenderness, colour with light and shade; all that is faithfullest "in Holland, fancifullest in Venice, severest in Florence, naturalest "in England. Whatever De Hooghe could do in shade, Van Eyck "in detail—Giorgione in mass—Titian in colour—Bewick and "Landseer in animal life, is here at once: and I know no other "picture in the world which can be compared with it."[2]

In a balcony bordered by a marble balustrade are seated two young women, in whom Mr. Ruskin would see a pair of honourable gentlewomen, but whose yielding forms and weary sensuality of look openly proclaim their real character. These two living and speaking likenesses, seen against a background of diffused light, are gaily and handsomely attired. One of them displays around her neck a row of pearls, the other two strings of gold beads. Both wear short bodices embroidered with gold and pearls. The detached sleeves, of heavier material, are slashed and laced along their entire length to show the puffed linen of an under-garment. The hair is dressed in a high coil (*coconelo*), and a tightly curled fringe (*bisse*) of hair covers the forehead and part of the cheeks. One of these damsels seated in a corner of the balcony holds a handkerchief in her right hand, and with head erect fixes upon space a pensive glance: perhaps of love, remembrance, or expectancy. The other beside her bends over a small white dog, a kind of terrier, with a collar of hawk-bells,—*con sonagi da sperovier*, as they were

[1] Gautier, *Italia*, p. 315, Paris, 1855.
[2] Ruskin, *St. Mark's Rest, The Shrine of the Slaves*, cit. p. 117

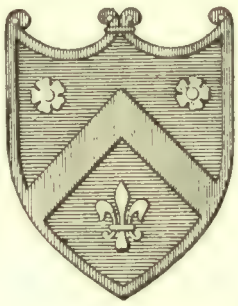
THE TWO COURTESANS.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Museo Civico, Venice.

Ph. Gr. Photogravure Pl. London

S. Vitalis.

S. Vitale, Venice.

called at that time,—whilst in her right hand she holds one end of a rod which a large hound, of whom we see only the head and two front paws, seizes in its teeth. A letter, on which is written *Opus Victoris Carpatio veneti*, lies at the dog's feet. A small boy stepping through the arches of the balustrade is attempting to caress a peacock, and around stand vases of flowers and fruit, amid which are perched two doves, whilst a parrot,—an exotic bird, brought as a rarity by the merchant-galleys returning from Alexandria and Cairo, and then much in fashion,—struts upon the floor. Among the miscellaneous objects lying about are a majolica flower-vase with the escutcheon of the citizen family of Torella, and a pair of those tall clogs, or pattens, which caused a Milanese traveller in the fifteenth century, to remark that "the Venetian women seem to me for the most part small, because if they were not so they would not use slippers . . . so high that those who wear them appear to be giants" (*le donne veneziane a me pareno per la major parte piccole, perchè quando non fusseno così, non userebbero pianelle . . . tanto alte che portandole alcune pareno giganti*).[1]



This brilliantly executed panel attracts us most by the grace of the composition and its splendid colour. A cleverly reasoned intention is evident, not a single detail has been neglected, and its gay and lively tints in no way disturb the harmony of the painter's conception.

The altar-painting for the church of S. Vitale was executed in the year 1514. Francesco Sansovino was ignorant it seems of the artist's name, nor is it mentioned in Martinioni's *Aggiunte* to the *Venetia*—made in 1663,—where, speaking of the church of S. Vitale, no more is said than that: "Here we see by a fine master the *pala* over the High Altar of *S. Vitale on horse-back*, foreshortened with great skill."[2] But in *Le Ricche Minere*, published for the first time in 1664, Boschini observes that: "The panel of the high altar . . . . is by the hand of Vittore Carpaccio, a fine work of 1514."

In the centre of the picture the sainted Roman Consul, *Vitale*, seated on a white horse grasps in his hand a battle-axe, which he supports on his hip. By his side, to the right and left, stand *SS. James, John, George and a female Saint*, probably his wife, *Valeria*. Three great arches in purest Renaissance style form the background, and disclose in distant perspective a smiling landscape, painted with masterly execution. Upon the terrace over the arch are *SS. Andrew and Peter* accompanied by *SS. Gervasio and Protasio*, the

[1] Casola, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme* (written by the author of *Bibl. Trivulzio*), p. 14. Milan, 1865.

[2] *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, cit., p. 124.

martyred sons of S. Vitale ; and in the centre, seated on the cornice outside the balcony, a small angel is playing a lute. High above in the clouds appear *The Virgin and Child* surrounded by cherubim. The two Saints, Vitale and George, are designed and painted with singular force ; nor are the other figures of inferior merit for restrained and sober draughtsmanship, harmonious colour and graceful natural drapery. We know not who commissioned this work, since the Archives were dispersed, when the church was entirely rebuilt by the architect Andrea Tirali at the end of the seventeenth century.

It is worthy of observation how several of the paintings which were completed during Carpaccio's later years instead of gaining in freedom and originality of execution appear so overburdened with detail, so frigid in treatment and so far removed from his spontaneous style as to justify the inference of outside collaboration. Certain authentic works, wherein nothing can wound the most delicate perception,—no garish colour nor commonplace line,—bear the date of 1491. These are followed twenty-four years later by the altarpiece, *The Meeting of SS. Joachim and Anna, with SS. Louis and Ursula.* Here the earlier wealth of colouring, is alas ! no more, the draughtsman's hand has lost its cunning, the tone is heavy and opaque, an almost metallic rigidity is displayed in outline and drapery alike, and the anatomy of the figures exhibits a curious strained timidity. This painting, now in the Venice Academy, was painted for the church of S. Francesco at Treviso (now closed) and is signed : *Victor Carpathio Venetus op. MDXV.*

Similar mannerisms mark the composition of the painting *The Ten Thousand Martyrs on Mount Ararat in Armenia*, signed *V. Carpathius MDXV.* No more arduous task was ever set before a well-ordered fancy such as Carpaccio's ; whose imagination had a free rein in festivals and pageants, and could ill conceive dramatic action or the portrayal of violent passions, sorrow and suffering. The accustomed luminous serenity of conception is here in fact disturbed by complex and painful images, by tumultuous and harrowing incident, resulting in an atmosphere of forced and confused unrest in the artist's style.

A huge mountainous mass forming an arch o'ertops the scene, which discloses in the background the graceful lines of rolling hill and valley and of verdant slopes instinct with the poetry of tranquil and rural peace. But the up-lands are alive with armed bands driving helpless masses before them, and a feeling of horror assails us as we comprehend the events taking place in the foreground. Lurid clouds darken the sky, lightning flashes from the firmament, and the trees bend and break under the fury of the disordered elements. The boughs of the tall trees support the martyrs, and executioners are crucifying others who lie upon the ground before

THE MEETING OF SS. JOACHIM AND ANNA.

225 THE TEN THOUSAND MARTYRS ON MOUNT ARARAT.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Academy, Venice.

A Procession of Cross-bearers in the Church of Sant' Antonio di Castello.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Academy, Venice.

a group of men on horseback and on foot, some clad as Roman soldiers, others robed in Oriental attire; whilst on the summit of the mountain minute figures representing the souls of the martyrs are being welcomed by angels descending from Celestial Spheres. For the upper portion of this composition there is in the Heseltine Collection in London a sketch in red chalk (*alla sanguigna*) faintly drawn with scarcely visible strokes. This sketch is moreover of further interest as being one of the earliest Venetian examples of the use of that material.

Vasari remarks that in this picture every detail is carried out with extreme industry and effort; and of effort indeed there is no lack, despite the perfect comprehension of the nude and the boldness of some of the foreshortening, which reveal in Carpaccio a true craftsman's power, so that the criticism of Hippolyte Taine would seem over-rash, to whom all these martyrs seem *grotesques comme les figures d'un vieux mystère.*[1] The painting (now preserved in the Venice Academy) was commissioned by Cardinal Ettore Ottoboni to commemorate a vow made in time of pestilence, and it was set up over the Ottoboni family altar in the church of S. Antonio di Castello;[2] where likewise hung another smaller composition by Carpaccio (also now in the Academy) of *A Procession of Penitents*, which depicts the interior of the ancient church, pulled down in 1807 to make way for the Public Gardens. We observe here an example of one of these long wooden galleries (*parchi*) erected over the High Altar for the choristers, which were destroyed in the seventeenth century:—with but a single exception and that in stone, in the church of S. Michele in Isola. We can still distinguish the altars and pictures, and the walls gracefully adorned with frescoes, subsequently obliterated with whitewash, especially when in time of plague such whitening was viewed as a necessary hygienic precaution. Such vandalism for instance occurred in the churches of the Frari and of S. Stefano, where on removing the plaster from the walls fresco-decorations and figures of fine fifteenth-century workmanship were brought to light. In Carpaccio's church of S. Antonio beside the first altar in the aisle, over which is placed a painting of *Christ in the Garden*, hangs one of those Byzantine polyptychs consisting of a large central composition surrounded by other sacred scenes painted upon small panels. The altarpiece stands a little way from the

[1] Taine, *Voyage en Italie*, ii. 328. Paris, 1881.

[2] "The altar of these 10,000 Martyrs, a most handsome structure with columns, marbles and much gilding, enshrines the very delicate and excellent painting, representing *Their Martyrdom on Mount Ararat in Armenia*, executed by Vittorio Carpaccio,—the most able artist of his time, and much esteemed by experts,—and was dedicated by Ettore of the Ottoboni family, then Prior of this church to the aforesaid ,Martyrs, and finally endowed with a piece of the Wood of the True Cross and other relics of the Martyrs."—Zucchini, *Nuova Cron. Ven. ossia descr. di tutte le pubbl. architettture, scult. pitt.* ecc. Venezia, MDCCLXXXV, p. 140.

wall, and behind it is spread a woollen curtain such as was used at that time to protect paintings from the damp of the walls. Proceeding further we notice another smaller altarpiece, and finally a desk covered with a cloth, upon which lies the image of a Saint for the devout to kiss. From the beams and the arches of the aisle, and under the choir-loft hang candelabra and lamps of Oriental design, and sundry models of ships, probably the *ex-voti* of sailor-worshippers.

To the same period to which the two paintings of *SS. Joachim and Anna* and *The Ten Thousand Martyrs* belong we would assign a *Crucifixion*, of which but a fragment remains, preserved in the Uffizi Gallery. From amid a group of men, gaily attired in Venetian fifteenth-century fashion and armed with halberds, composed simply and with correct and even somewhat naïve restraint in line and movement, there stands out the figure of a Jewish Rabbi, robed in a sumptuous garment of flowered brocade and wearing a kind of white mitre, who looks down upon a youth sitting at his feet with head uplifted and joined hands, clasping his left leg doubled up under him. Carpaccio's studies for this and several of the other figures may be recognized in a water-colour drawing also in the Heseltine Collection in London.

We know not, on the other hand, to what period of the painter's life to assign a painting in the possession of Madame André in Paris, nor can we readily understand its significance: a condition of things most unusual with Carpaccio, whose compositions are generally so clear and lucid in their simplicity. A cavalcade of youthful damsels clad in Venetian attire and wearing odd-shaped helmets advance through a wooded glade towards a pavilion or tribune, hung with carpets and tapestries, wherein an elderly man with a white beard and three gaily attired youths appear to be sitting in judgment. Sideways before the tribune we observe the Clerk of the Court, seated at a desk writing. Despite the restrained and serene sense of form prevailing in this composition we yet fail to discern throughout all Carpaccio's work anything remotely resembling so fantastic a scene as this mysterious tribunal, or figures so fanciful as these heroines of fable. We should be tempted to doubt the authorship of this painting had not authoritative critics like Gustavo Frizzoni recognized therein the master's hand. The subject also in his opinion should not be obscure, and we should seek the explanation in *The Legend of S. Ursula and her Companions*. This curious composition does not, however, seem to recall to us any incident from the Legend in question. If this painting really is by Carpaccio we believe that we possess some clue with regard to the vicissitudes that it passed through before crossing the Alps. Earlier in this chapter we related that in the Albarelli Collection

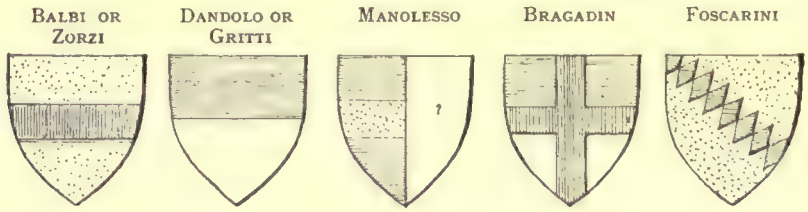
FRAGMENT OF "A CRUCIFIXION."
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Uffizi.

in Verona (now dispersed) there existed *two* paintings attributed to Carpaccio. The critic who describes this Picture Gallery[1] sees in these paintings the brushwork of Titian's first manner (*il pennello della prima tizianesca maniera* [?]), adding, however, in flat contradiction of his first impression that the two landscapes, attributed to Carpaccio and *carefully executed*, were "with figures representing an *unknown story*, which perhaps happened in Istria, as would seem from the expression of these same figures." The writer, unable to fathom the subject, suggests that the scene may have been enacted in distant Istria, herein following the common tradition which favoured that view of Carpaccio's origin. It may well be that the painting now in the possession of Madame André is one of the two *representing an unknown story*, which were once in the Albarelli Gallery.

About this period,—that is to say after 1515, to which year belong certain works acknowledged by the most reliable authorities,—we note a perceptible weakening in Carpaccio's powers. Several paintings strike us by their stridency in tone and excessive rigidity in design, whilst others again are a direct contrast in feebleness of draughtsmanship and opacity of colour,—a prevalence of ugly yellow tints,—so as to lead us to suspect the collaboration of his sons or pupils. But even in this latest phase of his artistic activity, Carpaccio now and again recovers his pristine strength. It was in 1516 that the powerfully conceived and painted *Lion of S. Mark*, now in the Ducal Palace, was executed for the Magistrato dei Camarlenghi di Comune. To the left of the spectator amid a bank of flowers we discern the Artist's signature:

VICTOR CARPATHIVS
A. D.
M · D · XVI ·

The traditional winged lion fills the canvas and is sharply defined against a background which embraces the gleaming basin of S. Mark, the Campanile, the Ducal Palace and a fleet of galleys in full sail. Five patrician coats of arms



are set along the lower edge of the canvas.

[1] *Succ. descr. della Racc. Albarelli*, cit. Cf. p. 196. Why might not the picture represent *A Court of Love*? (*Trans.*).

Istria boasts of two authentic paintings by Carpaccio. They do not, however, reveal the force of his colouring nor the delicacy of his draughtsmanship. The first hangs under the last arch of the right aisle in the Cathedral at Capodistria. In a wide vestibule, with a ceiling coffered and adorned with gilded bosses, *The Virgin* with her nude *Babe* is seated upon a high throne, screened above by a brocaded curtain and raised upon steps covered with a handsome Turkey carpet. Here are assembled, three to the right and three to the left, six Saints, among whom we easily recognize *SS. Roch, Sebastian, Jerome and George.* An angel with a lute and two *putti* musicians are seated at the foot of the throne. The painter signed his name and the date on a label thus: *Victor Carpathius Venetus pinxit MDXVI*, and the bold restorer, who was, however, not altogether an ignorant dauber, has set his own beside it: *Cosroe Dusi Venetus restauravit MDCCCXXXIX.*[1]

The other painting, with the inscription at the foot: *Victor Carp. Venet. MDXVIII.* is in the church of S. Francesco at Pirano, over an altar framed by two columns supporting a wide arch, on which are carved graceful arabesques. *The Virgin and Child* are enthroned, attended by *SS. Francis, Peter, Anthony, Louis of France and Clare.* Upon the steps of the throne two angels are playing, one a lute and the other a violin: and in the background to the right and left spreads a view of Pirano, with the little church of S. Niccolò, the Palazzo del Consiglio, the Torre del Comune and the town-wall

[1] Madonizza, in his *Guida del Viaggiatore in Istria* (published in the *Almanacco Istr.* Capodistria, 1864), writes: "Some years back the picture was exposed to the blasts of the wind and the drizzle of the rain, because being placed near one of the side-doors it was subjected to most serious injury, especially the lower portion. It was handed over to the painter Dusi to restore, and it is easy to trace the irreverent dauber, especially in the drapery of one of the angels and in other impudent retouchings." Madonizza, continuing his description of this church at Capodistria, adds: "Some think that a pair of small canvases representing *Two Prophets* are by Carpaccio, but I do not share that opinion, and believe that I am not mistaken, not finding in them either the correctness of drawing, nor the brilliance of colour, nor the poetic thought, which are the supreme gifts of our painter. In any case they are two pictures of merit and without doubt by a clever artist." The Bishop of Capodistria, Paolo Naldini (*Corografia eccl. della città e diocesi di Giustinopoli, detto volgarm. Capodistria.* Venezia, 1700, p. 389) writes that in the church of S. Antonio in the hamlet of S. Antonio near Capodistria was an altarpiece of the titular saint, *an excellent picture by Carpaccio.* In a notice by Gedeone Pusterla, published in the periodical of archæology and local history: *L'Istria* (No. 51, 52. 10 agosto, 1846) we read: "Not only in the city but also in the village churches may be seen classic paintings, and among them we must not pass over in silence the hamlet of S. Antonio, in which church is preserved a precious canvas by Carpaccio, representing the image of the Saint himself." De Franceschi (*L'Istria. Note Stor.* Parenzo, 1879), referring to this picture, writes: "We do not know whether it is still in existence." It was removed in this last century by Bishop Raunicher and an altarpiece by *Zorzi Ventura* of Capodistria, bearing the date 1600, was substituted for it. In Pusterla's notice, quoted above, we also read: "In the church of S. Tomaso (at Capodistria) there was another painting by Carpaccio (the subject of which he does not state). But eighty years since that church, through a spark borne by the wind on to a window curtain, was reduced to a heap of stones, and from the fury of the conflagration only one picture could be saved (*which was not the one by Carpaccio*)."

ALTAR-PIECE IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CAPODISTRIA.
By Vittore Carpaccio.

231 ALTAR-PIECE IN THE CHURCH OF SAN FRANCESCO DI PIRANO.
By Vittore Carpaccio.

crowned with Ghibelline battlements.[1] This landscape has served as an argument in support of the contention that Carpaccio was born, or at least had resided, in Istria, as though it would not have been possible for him to copy his landscapes from drawings then obtainable. If the town of Parenzo was faithfully portrayed in Breydenbach's work could not other such drawings (now lost) have existed in Carpaccio's day, just as there are still in existence many drawings of Istrian towns executed not long after his death by Giorgio Braun, Camozio and Giovanni degli Oddi?[2]

In our opinion, supported also by that of authoritative critics, it may be concluded that the great painter designed and sketched out the two paintings at Capodistria and Pirano respectively, and even attached his name to them, but that he left the task of completion under his own guidance to his son Benedetto. To be convinced of this it will be sufficient to consider not only the method of laying on the colour and the brush-work, which are not Vittore's, but to compare also the feeble figure of *S. George* in the Pirano composition with the fine virile figure of the same Saint in the picture at S. Vitale in Venice.

Near the main entrance of the Cathedral at Capodistria hang two canvases attributed to Vittore (with the spurious date of 1523), representing *The Presentation in the Temple* and *The Massacre of the Innocents* respectively. If indeed they are by him they exhibit his least satisfactory work, although both in drawing and technique they display certain of his characteristic mannerisms. With greater reason Cavalcaselle would assign them to Benedetto Carpaccio.[3]

The Virgin with SS. Nicholas of Bari and John the Baptist in the church of S. Niccolò at the entrance to the harbour of Capodistria is certainly not by Vittore, for even if the style be akin to his the painting reveals none of his delicacy and force of treatment. We would attribute it either to his son Benedetto, or to some pupil or imitator.[4] And similarly also another painting in the Municipal Buildings representing *The Entry of a Podestà into Capodistria*, which some would attribute to Vittore.

By Carpaccio in later life is a panel in five divisions in the parish church of Pozzale in Cadore. The central division which rises the

[1] Caprin, *L' Istria nobilissima*, p. 128. Trieste, 1905.

[2] Id. ibid. p. 111. Cf. Fr. Hagenbergii et Georgii Braun, *Theatrum Urbium*, Coloniæ, 1572. Camozio, *Isole, porti. fortezze ecc.*, Venezia, 1571–1574. Other views of the cities and country of Istria are the unpublished sketches executed by Giovanni degli Oddi of Padua in 1584, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Udine.

[3] Cavalcaselle and Crowe, *A History of Painting in North Italy*, vol. 1, chap. ix.

[4] Frizzoni, *Un' escursione artistica a Capo d' Istria* (in *Arte e Storia.*, Firenze, 22 Luglio, 1883).

entire height of the altarpiece contains *The Madonna and Child*; the two upper divisions at the side the busts of *S. Roch* and *S. Sebastian*; and below are displayed full-length figures of *S. Thomas the Apostle* and *S. Denis*. At the foot of the Virgin's throne a small angel is seated holding a flower and a label, and upon the steps is inscribed: *Victor Carpatius Venetus Pinxit anno MDXVIII.* The drawing is both strained and awkward, but nevertheless the painting, much injured though it is by time, yet reflects the spirit of Carpaccio's delicate art.

We would likewise ascribe to Carpaccio's last years—on account of the mystical atmosphere pervading his later work—a painting representing *The Burial of Christ*, acquired recently by Dr. Wilhelm Bode for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. A fearsome scene of horror lies before our eyes. Almost the entire foreground of the picture is occupied by a plank, laid upon four carved wooden feet at the ends and a massive marble pedestal in the centre. Upon this board rests the rigid *Body of the Dead Saviour*. The Corpse is modelled with consummate care, and the Head looks most impressive in the solemn repose of death. Beneath the bier we observe scattered skulls, bones and limbs, and animal remains. Beside a tree in the middle distance behind the Corpse a half-clad figure with a long beard and curled hair sits watching the form of his Dead Master. Beyond the tree *Mary* swoons in the arms of a female companion whose head is swathed in turban-like folds of linen, whilst *S. John* turning towards them stands gazing sadly at the prostrate women. In the landscape to the left, capped by dark masses of cloud, rises the dread Mount of Calvary with its three crosses. Beneath its slope, which shelves away in rocks and clefts, yawns the square entrance of the cavern for the great marble tomb, the sepulchral slab of which *Nicodemus* and another figure clad in Oriental garb are striving to raise: whilst *Joseph of Arimathea* bending over a metal basin prepares spices for the embalmment. The steep cliff opens out into a wide aperture, through which we descry a winding path; and along it a number of small figures on foot and on horseback are climbing up the crest of Calvary. On the summit of the wooded cliff stands a shepherd's hut, and lower down are two shepherds, one of whom is seated whilst the other leaning against a tree plays on a pipe. On the slopes are the tombs torn open by the earthquake which announced the Death of Christ. To the right extends a lake and a tranquil mountain scene traversed by another path, with figures of Orientals advancing, along which hurries *The Magdalen* bearing a vase of ointment in her hand.

This picture was originally in the Canonici Gallery at Ferrara, and bore the spurious signature, *ANDREAS MANTINEA F.*,

The Burial of Christ.
The Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

and to Mantegna therefore it was attributed both in the Catalogue,[1] and also by connoisseurs. Cavalcaselle recognized in the painting the School of Carpaccio, although in its prevailing reddish tint it differs from the master's usual work. That critic adds that if the painting be not by Carpaccio himself it is doubtless by Michele da Verona.[2] But although the fiery tone of this painting may not be in accordance with the delicate colour-scale of so much of Carpaccio's work, yet a careful examination can leave us in no doubt respecting the authorship; not only from the originality of the conception, the accurate and even over-minute workmanship, and the method of draping folds, but also through the many characteristic points of resemblance to other pictures by the same author.[3] The landscape with the abrupt rocky eminence bears a striking analogy with that of *The Holy Family* in the Gallery at Caen, and displays no slight resemblance to the landscape background of *The Madonna and Saints* in the Berlin Gallery. The figure of S. John seen sideways recalls the self-same Saint in the Berlin painting of *The Death of the Virgin*, and one of the dead bodies propped up against a broken tomb-stone is absolutely identical with a corpse shown in *S. George and the Dragon* in the Scuola degli Schiavoni.

Of two pictures executed in 1523 for the Patriarch of Venice no record exists except in the document quoted by us,[4] and, until a short time since, it was supposed that *The Preaching to the People* from the Scuola di Stefano with the partially cancelled date 1520 (now in the Gallery of the Louvre), was Vittore's last painting. But there exists yet another work by him bearing the same date, known only to a few persons, which instead should be looked upon as the latest painting by Carpaccio that has come down to us.

Not far from the wharf whence the steamers start which ply

[1] In the *Racc. di Cataloghi ed Invent. ined.* of Campori (Modena, 1870), p. 117, the painting is described thus:

"A *Dead Christ*, by Andrea Mantegna, placed on a bier in the midst of a landscape. Near by is an old man seated on the ground leaning against a tree. S. John weeps and the Madonna has swooned in the arms of a woman. There are also mountains, rocks, cemeteries, and caves, above which are two shepherds, one seated and the other playing on a pipe. Two old men are opening a tomb, whilst a third holds a basin. There are besides skulls of men, dogs, cats, and birds with figures rising from the grave. It has a gilded frame: three hundred scudi."

(*Un Christo morto di A. Mantegna posto nel cadiletto in mezo a una campagna, lì vicino gl' è un vecchio, che siede in terra appoggiato a un arbore, S. Giovanni piange, e la Madonna è tramortita in braccio à una donna, gli sono anco monti, sassi, cimiteri e grote, sopra le quali vi sono duoi Pastori, uno che siede, e l' altro sona un pifaro, duoi vecchi aprono un sepolcro, e il terzo piglia un bacile; gli sono poi anco teste di morto, come d' huomini, cani, gatti et uccelli, con figure che rissorgono, ha la cornice dorata scudi trecento.*)

[2] *History of Painting in North Italy*, cit., vol. i., p. 213.

[3] Bode, *Carpaccio's Bestattung Christi im Kaiser Friedrich-Museum* (*Jahrbuch der K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, p. 145. Berlin, 1905.)

[4] Cf. pp. 51, 139, and 241.

between Venice and the ancient fishing-town of Chioggia, on a small island, stand the church and convent of S. Domenico. Upon a pilaster in the church hangs a picture, which is mentioned for the first time in 1819 in the Inventory at the Archivio di Stato of Works of Art then existing. Perhaps this picture, which however does not display those signs of haste perceptible in the painter's latest manner, was painted for the church, and has thus fortunately remained forgotten and therefore safe from restoration. The canvas (2 m. × 1 m.) bears at the foot, on a piece of folded paper, the following words in clearly printed characters: VICTOR CARPATHIUS PINXIT *MDXX*. In the midst of a flowery meadow stands *S. Paul*, garbed in a green robe with yellow-lined sleeves and a red mantle over his shoulders. In his right hand he holds a drawn sword and in the left an open book, in which may clearly be read the words: "*Vivo ego; iam non ego, vivit in me* "*Xstus.*" "*Stigmata Iesu Christi in corpore meo porto.*"[1] The countenance of the Apostle, stamped with this conception of mystic austerity, is wrapt in ecstatic contemplation of a crucifix fashioned like a dagger, which transfixes his heart, whence issue drops of blood. This representation so unusual in Italian Art shows how the mind of the aged painter had become absorbed in intense religious sentiment.

The day is now no more when our artist drew his inspiration from splendid pageantry and scenes enlivened by beauteous dames and noble cavaliers. In his latest work we seem to perceive the soul of the painter who now at life's close seeks rather to render with line and colour sacred and austere images, sadly laying aside that joyous Art so beloved by him in his youth, and to which new masters were to add fresh life and greater beauties. Carpaccio doubtless desired no innovations, nor could he have understood them. Art is but a succession of continuous changes, and so soon as one form has reached its zenith another fresh development is evolved in its place. Certain painters, such as Giovanni Bellini, comprehend and welcome these novelties, but others, like Carpaccio, neither see, nor wish to see, that a New Dispensation is at hand, and that in their own day they are looked upon as laggards, whereas they should more justly be reckoned constant, convinced and exclusive in their artistic conscience.

Carpaccio bequeathed his name, but not his genius, to his two sons, Pietro and Benedetto, concerning whose lives we have already given those few facts that we have been able to acquire. Nor is there much more to be said regarding their work.

Pietro Carpaccio,—probably the elder of his sons,—has left but *one* painting that can with any certainty be attributed to him.

[1] *Epistle to the Galatians*, ii. 20, vi. 17.

233 S. Paul.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Church of San Domenico, Chioggia.

234 Virgin and Child and Saints.
By Vittore Carpaccio. In the Museum, Berlin.

235 Virgin and Child, S. Catherine, and the Magdalen.
By Giovanni Bellini. In the Academy, Venice.

239 VIRGIN AND CHILD, S. LUCY AND S. GEORGE.
By Benedetto Carpaccio. In the Ufficio Saline di Pirano.

THE VIRGIN AND CHILD AND SAINTS.
By Benedetto Carpaccio. In the Gallery, Carlsruhe.

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VIRGIN AND CHILD.
By Benedetto Carpaccio (wrongly attributed to Catena).
In the Chapel of San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice.

Certain authorities would assign to his brush *The Madonna and Child with Saints* in the Berlin Gallery, attributed to his father Vittore, perceiving therein, besides its rigid and dry mannerisms, an imitation of Bellini, unusual in our artist himself. And indeed the figures of the Madonna and of the female saint with her hands crossed over her bosom, and more especially the arrangement of the hands of all three figures, would seem to be inspired by *The Virgin with S. Catherine and the Magdalen* by Giambellino in the Venice Academy. But other Art-Connoisseurs, no less expert, continue to believe the picture in Berlin to be in Vittore Carpaccio's last manner, and under his name it is still registered in the Catalogue of that Gallery.

The name of the other son, Benedetto, is overshadowed by his father's fame. Betaking himself to Capodistria, where he fixed his abode, Benedetto executed various works, which are for the most part preserved in the towns of Dalmatia. In the Municipality at Capodistria there are a *Coronation of the Virgin* with the inscription *Beneto Carpathio Veneto pingeva MDXXXVII.*, and a *Virgin with SS. James and Bartholomew* signed *B. Carpathio pingeva MDXXXVIII.* Another very indifferent picture repainted many times over and bearing the inscription *Benedeto Carpathio pingeva MDXXXX.* was formerly in the tower of the Port of Trieste and is now in the Cathedral of S. Giusto. The painter portrayed here *The Virgin and Child* with two angels to the right and two to the left and beyond them on either side *S. Giusto* with a model of a city, symbolizing Trieste, in his hand, and *S. Sergio*, the young warrior. In the Cathedral at Capodistria another picture, signed *Benetto Carpathio pingeva MDXXXXI.*, represents *The Name of Christ adored by SS. Paul, John the Baptist, Francis and Bernardino of Siena.* The name *Jesus*, painted in yellow and surrounded by rays of light, is written on high within a circle of cherub heads. There is a painting in the Office of the *Saline* (saltworks) at Pirano, which came from the church of S. Lucia in Val di Fasano, wherein are represented *The Virgin with SS. Lucy and George.* It bears the inscription: *B. Carpathio pingeva MDXXXXI.* Finally a *Madonna and Two Saints* in the Gallery at Carlsruhe is clearly by Benedetto, to whom also we would assign another *Madonna* over the altar of S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice, wrongly attributed to Vincenzo Catena. This latter presentment is in fact identical with the figure of the Virgin in Benedetto's picture in the Office of the Saline at Pirano; and the dancing angels at the feet of *The Madonna* in the Oratorio degli Schiavoni exhibit too decided an analogy with those in Vittore's *Apotheosis of S. Ursula* for us not to conclude that Benedetto copied this detail from his father's composition. There is no doubt therefore that the painting is by Benedetto

Carpaccio, from whom it was doubtless ordered, after his father's death, to be set up in the Oratory on the ground-floor of the Scuola degli Schiavoni when the structural alterations therein had been completed.

This artist, so inferior to his father in genius, is nerveless and hesitating in draughtsmanship,—albeit not wanting in a measure of technical dexterity,—and his colour if skilfully blended is nevertheless poor and opaque.

Neither is he original in his composition, since he seeks inspiration with excessive filial zeal not in his father's works alone but also from those of Giovanni Bellini. Notice for example in the painting at Carlsruhe how closely the presentment of *S. Catherine* resembles the identical figure in the panel by Giambellino mentioned above (now in the Venice Academy), to which we have drawn attention as a parallel to the so-called Carpaccio of *The Virgin* in the Berlin Gallery.

The scope of Benedetto's imagination must have indeed been narrow. He frequently repeats the same figures almost exactly in a variety of pictures; as for instance *The Virgin* in the Offices of the Saline at Pirano, and *The Madonna* at S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni: both of these paintings being inspired by Giambellino's *Virgin with her Babe in an Attitude of Benediction*, now in the Accademia Carrara at Bergamo. In the Saline painting and in that in S. Francesco at Pirano the two indifferent figures of *S. George* are evidently copied from the Warrior-Saint painted by Vittore with far greater force for the church of S. Vitale in Venice.

There is no doubt but that Vittore Carpaccio,—in his latter years especially,—availed himself of the assistance of his son Benedetto, whose washy colouring and flaccid design may be recognized by those who look closely into some of his father's latest work. But we may believe also that Vittore sometimes claimed the co-operation of his son Pietro, and we may fairly argue that to the hand of Pietro, or of some other unknown pupil of the great master, is principally due the somewhat wooden drawing and garish colour of the two paintings: *The Ten Thousand Martyrs* and *The Meeting of SS. Joachim and Anna.* So much in fact do these differ from the style of all Carpaccio's other works that to Zanetti it appears a singular thing and scarcely worthy of credence that the panel of *The Ten Thousand Martyrs* should have been executed by a skilled painter of the Giorgionesque period,—indeed posterior to Giorgione's death and at the dawning of Titian's fame,—and yet not disclose the faintest sign of the newer and more lifelike methods. Neither can we understand how that other stilted and ungainly composition, *SS. Joachim and Anna*, painted in the year 1515, can be by the hand of the craftsman, who, so early as 1490,

239 VIRGIN AND CHILD.
By Giovanni Bellini. In the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo.

240 SKETCH BY VITTORE CARPACCIO OF A CHILD.
In the Heseltine Collection, London.

had created paintings which for poetry of composition, loveliness of colour and ideal grace in the drawing of the figure, deserve to be considered among the most truthful and original works of the Venetian School.

Carpaccio with his homely naturalism, emotional restraint and self-possessed narrative of fact heralds the ample compositions of Titian and the sumptuous decorative effects of Paul Veronese. Yet in the realm of Venetian Art Carpaccio uttered words that no one has repeated after him ; not even Zorzi di Castelfranco with all his genius so sublime, nor the great masters of the Golden Age. The painter of *S. Ursula* alone possessed the restraint and concision of the strong, who need but few words to convey their message.

Carpaccio's consummate art influenced but few of his contemporaries to any considerable extent, if we except Mansueti and Diana; and but a pale reflection of the parental genius reappears in his son Benedetto. Neither did the great master bequeath his fame to imitators or disciples, for when death's summons came the hearts and minds of men had already turned away toward other feelings and new ideals, and with him the light of his genius went out.

NOTE (ADDED BY THE TRANSLATOR)

In the Collection of Thomas Brocklebank, Esq. (The Roscote, Heswall, Cheshire) there is a painting by Vittore Carpaccio representing *Christ and Four of His Apostles*. Its size is 70 cm. × 59 cm. and it is signed "*Vettor Scarpazzo*." It came from the Gallery of the Counts Contini di Castelserpio, and Professor Pietro Paoletti in a lecture given at the Istituto di Belle Arti in Venice on August 7th, 1898 expressed the opinion that it was an even earlier work than the dated (1490) painting in the *S. Ursula* Cycle. Cf. pp. 106 and 201.

Appendix to Chapter I

Documents

THE BASTIANI FAMILY

Marco Bastiani

[1]) 1435. 31 Augusti — Testam..... Ego Petrus quondam Antonij pictor de confinio Sancti Leonis..... Testis: Ser Marchus filius ser Jacobi Bastian pictor de confinio Sancti Leonis — (Archivio di Stato. S. N. Gruato Nicolò. B.ª 576. N.° 454).

[2]) 1440. 22 Julij — Domina Isabetta relicta ser Petrj pictoris et nunc uxor ser Marci de Ventura a Volta de confinio sancti Leonis..... Testis: Ser Marcus Bastiano ser Jacobi de confinio sancti Leonis..... — (Ibid. Cancelleria Inferiore. Franciscus ab Helmis. B. 74 Prot. XVIII a Carte 181 tergo).

[3]) 1447. 15 Junij — Testam..... Ego Lucas quondam ser Georgij fenestrarius de confinio sancti Leonis..... Testis: Ser Marcus Bastian filius ser Jacobi pictor de confinio sancti Leonis. — (Ibid. S. N. Gambaro Antonio. B.ª 559).

[4]) 1454. 24 Julij — Testam..... Quapropter Elena relicta Antonij a Cencibus tertij ordinis sancti Francisci de confinio sancti Leonis. — Testis: Marcus Bastiani condam ser Jacobi sancti Leonis. — (Ibid. S. N. Christiano Anastasio. B.ª 464. prot. carte 72).

[5]) 1457. 7 Maij — Testam..... Ego Lucas quondam Georgij fenestrarius de confinio sancti Leonis..... Testes: Ser Marcus, quondam ser Bastiani pictor, ser Ludovicus filius soprascripti ser Marci. — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B.ª 360. Protocollo).

[6]) 1457. 22 Junij — Test..... Ego Marcus condam Jacobi Bastiano de confinio sancti Leonis ..... volo meos fidei commissarios ser *Lazarum quondam Jacobi Bastiano fratrem meum*..... et meos filios ad presens magnos..... dimitto unam vestam de veluto cremexino Marie filie mee..... Item volo et esse volo ac dimitto quod *Marta de genere Tartarorum sclava mea* servet dictos filios meos sex annos et post dictum tempus remaneat libera francha et expedita ab omni onere seu iugo servitutis..... Et si dicti filii mei non tenerent seu non observarent dictam Martam honestam seu non facerent ei bonam compagniam tunc mei comissarij teneantur dictam sclavam ab eis removere et eam servire facere aliis filiis parvis qui facerent ei bonam companiam. Item volo..... quod Andriana et Marina sorores mee habeant ducatos decem..... (Codicillo)..... quod habeat filia mea ducatos mille quingenti..... quod Marta sit induta a capite..... (A tergo) ..... Testamentum magistri Marci quondam ser Jacobi Sebastiano pictoris sancti Leonis. — (Ibid. S. N. Marsilio Antonio. B.ª 1211. N.° 787).

[7]) 1463. 21 Augusti — Ego Stephanus quondam Nicolai credentiarius de confinio sancti Leonis..... Et mi Marcho Bastian pentor fui testimonio. — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B.ª 360. Prot. 119).

[8]) 1468. 20 Julij — Test..... Ego Blancha Domicella filia quondam ser Silvestri Polle olim patroni navis de confinio sancti Vitalis..... Testis: Ser Marcus Bastiani pictor sancti Leonis — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B.ª 360. Prot. 145).

[9]) 1468. 30 Julij — Test..... Ego Brigida relicta quondam ser Silvestri Polo olim patroni navis de confinio sancti Vitalis..... Testis: Ser Marcus Bastiani pictor sancti Leonis — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B.ª 360. N.° 20).

[10]) 1470. 28 Maij — Test..... Ego Catherina uxor ser Salvi de Cipro marinai..... Item volo..... quod..... commissarij mei faciant sibi solvi a Marco pictore, de confinio sancti Leonis..... Testis: Anthonius de Vincentibus pictor sancti Apolinaris. — (Ibid. S. N. Pietro de Rubeis. B. 870).

[11]) 1472. — Magistro Marcho depentor..... de aver per horo so manifatura de farme uno stendardo over penon..... ducati 10½. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande San Marco. Commissario Zaccaria Giustinian).

[12]) 1473. 22 Aprilis — Test... Ego Christophorus de Monte quondam ser Martini Zuponarius de confinio sancti Leonis... Testis: Ser Marcus quondam Jacobi pictor et cultrarius de confinio sancte Justine. — (Ibid. S. N. Giuseppe de Moisis. B. 727).

[13]) 1474. 20 octobris — Test..... Ego Diana filia ser Francisci Nigro de Venetiis et uxor ser Victoris Testa varotari de confinio sancti Leonis..... Testes: Mi Marcho Bastian testes scripsi. Mi Nicholo Squalamanzo testes scripsi. Ego Philippus Triolj Venetiarum notarius..... complevi et roboravi. Et vero quod ita sunt testes..... ser Nicholaus Squalamanzo Intaljator lignaminis et ser Marcus Bastiani pictor cortinarum ambo de dicto confinio sancti Leonis. — (Ibid. S. N. Trioli Filippo, Protocollo).

[14]) 1474. 20 Octobris — Test..... Diana Negro. Testes: ser Nicolaus Squalamanzo incisor lignaminis et ser Marcus a Cortinis ambo de confinio sancti Leonis. — (Ibid. S. N. Trioli Filippo, B. N. 974. Cedula).

[15]) 1480. 22 Maggio — La scuola grande di San Marco fa contratto con «magistro Marcho Bastian depentor a San Lio» per eseguire il «penelo del guardian de mattin» per il prezzo de ducati 40 a 50. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande San Marco, not.° s. n. dall' anno 1428 al 1503).

[16]) 1489. 3 Gennaio — «Muore magistro Marcho Sabastian pentor..... fo sepelido a San Zuanne Pollo.....» — (Ibid. Scuola Grande della Carità — Ordinario delle successioni delli Guardiani e fratelli morti dall' anno 1450 al 1545).

Simon Bastiani

[17]) 1457. 8 novembris..... Ego Franciscus pictor quondam Jacobi de confinio sancti Benedicti cum meis heredibus et successoribus tibi Rine olim filie Johannis Blancho de Telexio uxori mee dilecte..... Testis: Ser Simon filius ser Marci Bastiano pictor (Archivio di Stato Cancelleria Inferiore. — Atti Natale Colona. Busta 62. Protocollo pag. 1ª).

[18]) 1459. 22 Maij — Test..... Ego presbiter Julianus de Charintia cantor seu tenorista ecclesia sancti Marci de confinio sanctorum Apostolorum..... Testes: Simon filius ser marci bastiano pictor. — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colona. Busta 360. prot.).

[19]) 1459. 8 augusti — Test..... Ego Antonius olim filius ser Ogolini de confinio sancti Appolinaris..... Testis: Simon Bastiano filius ser Marci pictor. — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B.ª 360).

[20]) 1459. 4 septembris — Ego Cristoforus quondam ser Antonij Enzo de confinio sancti Leonis..... Testes: Magister Marcus Bastiano pictor, Simon suus filius. — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B.ª 360).

[21]) 1467. 4 Julij — Test..... Ego Andriola filia ser Christofori de Lodi et uxor Antonij Johanis veludarij de confinio sancti Silvestri..... Testes: Dominicus Saracho olim ser Jachobi de confinio sancti Nicolai de mendigolis. — Simon quondam Marci curtinaris de contracta sancti augustini. — (Ibid. S. N. Grasselli Antonio. B.ª 508. N.° 16).

[22]) 1460. 15 Decembris — Test..... Ego Iohana uxor ser Benedicti quondam Petri de Brixia de confinio sancti Eustachij; Testis: ser Simon filius ser Marci Bastianj pictor sancti Leonis. — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B.ª 360. prot. 130).

[23]) 1467. 1 Julij — Test..... Ego Lena de Pattruich de tertio ordine minorum relicta Alegreti magistri et olim filia ser demetrij Nariesco sclavoni de confinio sanctorum Apostolorum de Venetijs ..... Testes: Simon olim filius Marci curtinarius de contracta sancti Augustini. Dominicus Saracho olim ser Jacobi curtinarius de confinio sancti Nicolai. — (Ibid. S. N. Grasselli Antonio. Busta 508. N.° 89).

[24]) 1467. 10 Decembris — Test..... Quapropter ego Malgarita uxor Augusti Marangoni de contrata sancti Silvestri..... Testes: Franciscus filius magistri Alberti pictoris de parochia sancti Salvatoris. Simon quondam Marci pictor de confinio sancti Augustini. — (Ibid. S. N. Grasselli Antonio. B.ª 508. N.° 137).

[25]) 1471. 28 Apriljs — Carta di sicurtà fatta da «Jacobus Johannis de Lusia», marinaio a Chiara di Giovanni Brandolin marinaio..... Testis: Simon Marci pictor de confinio sancti Augustini. — (Ibid. S. N. Cancelleria inferiore. Atti Antonio de Grasselis c. 4. B. 99).

[26]) 1473. 25 Maij — Test..... Nobilis Domina Francischina relicta Nobilis viri D.[i] Danielis Lauredano de confinio sancti Silvestri..... Testis: Ser Simon quondam ser Marci pictor de confinio Sancti Silvestri. — (Ibid. S. N. Grassolario Bartolomeo. B. 481. N.° 378).

[27]) 1474 ([5]). 27 Januarij — Test..... Elena Lauredano. Testis: Simon de Marcho depentor. — (Ibid. S. N. Cortesi Policreto B.ª 887. N.º 18).

Alvise Bastiani

[28]) 1457. 7 Maij — Testes: Ser Marcus quondam ser Bastiani pictor, ser Ludovicus filius supradicti ser Marci.

[29]) 1459. 30 Junij — Testes ser Alvisius Bastiano filius ser Marci pictor — Magister Leonardus Scalamanzo intagliator quondam ser Dimitri — ambo sancti Leonis. — (Ibid. S. N. Colonna Natale. B.ª 360).

[30]) 1459. 1 Augusti — Testes magister Leonardus Scalamanzo quondam ser Dimitry, Alvisius filius ser Marci Bastiano pictor, ambo sancti Leonis. — Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B. 360. Prot.).

[31]) 1459. 2 Augusti — Testes: ser Alvisius Benzon fenestrarius, ser Alvisius pictor ser Marci Bastiano. — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B. 360. Prot.).

[32]) 1459. 12 Septembris — Test..... Ego Zacharias de Comitibus quondam ser Christofori de confinio sancte Agathe..... Testis: Ser Alvisius filius ser Marci Bastiano pictor ambo sancti Leonis. — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B. 360).

[33]) 1459. 17 Septembris — Test..... Ego Chataruzia relicta magistri Luce finestrarij de confinio sancti Leonis. Testes: magister Nicolaus Scalamanzo quondam ser Demitrj..... Alvisius filius ser Marci Bastiano pictor. — Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B. N. 360. prot.).

[34]) 1459. 12 Decembris..... — Testes: magister Thomasius barbitonsor quondam ser Pense, ser Alvisius Bastiano predicti ser Marci pictor. — (Ibid. S. N. Natale Colonna. B. 360. prot.).

[35]) 1485, 2 Novembre — Test..... « Domina Franceschina filia quondam ser Joanis de Varisco et uxor ser Georgij Zoia (quondam ser Balbi pictor) habitatrix in confinio sancte Justine..... ordinavit..... Testis: Alvixio Sebastiano pictore in plathea Sancti Marci filius quondam ser Marci..... — (Ibid. Manimorte, San Zaccaria. B.ª 7, N.º 3 cte 78).

[36]) 1489, 20 Septembris — Ego Laurentia uxor ser Georgii sutoris de confinio sancti Severi. Testes: io Alluise Bastiani fo de ser Marcho fo presente testimonio sotoscrisi. — (Ibid. S. N. Stella Lorenzo. B. 877. N.º 886).

[37]) *a* 1511, 17 decembris — (Ex margine). — Marcus Lauredanus advocator comunis in XL[ta]. — Franciscus filius Aloisij Bastiani pictoris de contracta sancti Luce. Paula uxor Magistri Alexandri a Lyris de contracta predicta sancti Luce absentes contra quos tamen per antescriptum dominum advocatorem et officium suum processum fuit et est in contrascripto Consilio de XL ex eo quod dictus Franciscus fuerit tantae inauditae et diabolicae audatiae et detestandae lasciviae, et non contentus et carnaliter pluries se inmiscuerit cum Paula uxore Alexandri de Lyris de contracta sancti Lucae adulterium secum committendo..... — (Ibid. Avogaria di Comun. Raspe 21. Parte II. Carte 37).

[38]) 1512. 12 Gennaio — Essendo comparso nell' albergo nostro della Scuola Grande della Carità, Domenico Ciprian insieme con ser Alvise Bastian depentor sta a San Luca in una casa della schuolla..... et rechedendo, che li piaqui de voler consentir la permuttation vuol far i ditti ser Alvise Bastian e ser Steffano dalla Violla delle loro case perche a ser Alvise Bastian depentor fa per lui la casa de biri per esser luogo ampio et largo per el sugar delle sue depenture, et a ser Steffano li son fatti chomodo esser per el suo mistier appresso rialto, e san Marcho, et havendo ben inteso la sua richiesta l'anderà parte..... che i detti possino permuttar le sue Case..... — (Ibid. Scuola Grande della Carità, not. 254).

Cristoforo Bastiani

[39]) 1494. (5) 27 Januarij — Test..... ego Katarina Camisere uxor magistri Cristofori quondam Alvisij Bastiani pictoris de contrata sancti Apollinaris..... volo sepeliri ad sanctum Joannem et paulum in archis viri mei..... — (Ibid. S. N. Gio. Ant. Mondo. B.ª 742. N.º 5).

Paolo Bastiani

[40]) 1464. 4 Novembris — Test..... Ego Nicolosa nxor ser Johannis credenzarij quondam alterius ser Johannis de confinio sancti Leonis. Testis: Ego presbiter Paulus filius ser Marci Bastiano nunc clericus testis subscripsi. — (Ibid. Natale Colona B.ª N. 360 prot. N. 17).

[41]) 1470. 27 Augusti — Testis: Dominus presbiter Paulus Bastianus mansonarius in Ecclesia sanctorum Appostolorum. — (Ibid. Cancelleria Inferiore Franc. ab Helmis. B. 73).

[42]) 1467. 20 Marzo — Testis « Ego Paulus filius Sebastiani pictoris clericus Sancte Marie ». — (Ibid. Cancelleria Inferiore. Atti Avanzo Nicolò B. 7).

[43]) 1478 (9) 11 Jannuarij — Test..... Ego Barbarella relicta ser Angeli de Brocardo de

confinio sancti Geminiani. Testes: Ego presbiter Paulus Bastiano titulatus in ecclesia sancti Juliani testis subscripsi. — (Ibid. S. N. Veciis de Bartolomeo. B.ª 1040, N.° 16).

[44]) Supplica al Consiglio dei X. — Magnificis et excellentissimis dominis capitibus excelsi consilij..... et sociorum Deputatorum ad gubernationem scolae beatissimi et gloriosissimi confessoris sancti Rochi in Ecclesia Sancti Juliani..... el dito misser lo piovan insieme con pre Zuan Marco di Vechj, che fo coadiuttor al zudega de proprio per falsario condanado et bandizado in perpetuo de Veniesia per el conseio di quaranta et con pre Polo Bastian homo leziero et de mala sorte e volunta prete de essa giesia: se hano fatto una pensata..... Et per adimpli el loro desiderio hano tolto el mezo et guida de questa cossa Antonio di Negri, el qual e parente del ditto pre Polo Bastian: et pratichadu ocultamente la cossa con alguni de li ditti disciplinarij (flagellanti)..... et hieri che fu zorno de nostra dona, per li nostri ordeni non ordenado de far capitolo, el ditto Antonio di Negri con el ditto pre Polo Bastian perche pre Zuan Marco estato messo in camera per altre soe non bone opere..... Antonio di Negri chavo fuora de manega el foio notato per lezerlo tuta via pre Polo Bastian ordenando che ognun sentasse et taxesse..... Vogliando pur el ditto Antonio de Negri comenzar a lezer el governador per obviar a tal enorme et inaudita cossa se fexe avanti tolse el foio de man di Antonio de Negri. El che fatto pre Polo Bastian che per avanti haveva più volte publice manaxato de taiar camixe, per non voler far i ditti dela bancha a suo modo desnudò davanti l'altar una spada, et meno plusor colpi verso quelli che li se trovava et etiam verso Alvixe Bastian suo carnal fradello, el qual e uno de li compagni de la bancha. Et etiam per ordene dato uno deli desciplinarij chiamato Alvixe barbier, principal capo de la ditta dissension, snudò una spada menando con quella insieme el ditto pre Polo Bastian. Ma el signor nostro Dio e nostra dona benedetta non volse che algun fosse guasto non havendo i compagni de la bancha alguna cossa da defenderse. Dei qual uno Alvise Bastian soprascritto fu afferato da alguni deli disciplinarij et butado violenter fuora de la porta strazandoli el collo et li pani da dosso: per non li haver lassato exeguir la loro mala voluntà et proposito..... Firmato da 14 Flaggellanti e due confratelli ordinarii. — (Ibid. Capi del Consiglio del Dieci. Suppliche 1472-1594. B.ª 1).

[45]) 1484. 21 Octobris — Necessarium est..... quod ad tolendum de medio omnem causam disordinis, odij et rancoris inter homines scolarum batutorum..... quod de cetero in officiis albergi quatuor scolarum batutorum huius civitatis, nec non et scole sancti Rochi non possint uno et eodem tempore esse in officio illi qui coniuncti forent simul aliquo gradu talis parentelle..... (Ibid. Consiglio dei Dieci. Misti n.° 22 anni 1484-1488. carte 74to).

[46]) Desceplinarij che se battono. (Among others appear these names also:) Francexo de Monsera stampidor, Jeronimo de Domenego depentor, Lunardo di Chorali toschan, Rado di Francesco dai ochiali. (In a second list appear these names:) Ser Polo damante christaler, seri Jacomo Falcon orexe, ser Thomaxo Bragadin pentor, ser Stefano de Jacomo orexe.

Lazzaro Bastiani

[47]) 1449. 5 Aprilis — Test..... Ego Doratia relicta Laurentij merciarij de confinio sancti Leonis..... Testis: Lazarus pictor condam Sabastiani de confinio sancti Leonis testis. — (Ibid. S. N. Cristiano Anastasio. B. 464).

[48]) 1456. 18 novembris — .....Jo Zuane de Jacomo Trivixano de confin de san Pantalon..... Item constituisso mie fidel comessari mio barba Marcho depentor del confin de san Lio e mio barba Lazaro depentor del confin de san Rafael..... — (Ibid. Testamenti. Notaio Davanzago Andrea. Busta n.° 368).

[49]) 1460. 4 Dicembris — .....Dedimus magistro Lazaro pictori pro parte palle fiende videlicet depingende pro capella nostrij Commissi Lij. s. X. (S. Samuel). — 1461. Seguono altri pagamenti a maestro Lazzaro Sebastiani. (Ibid. Proc. S. Marco. Misti. B.ª 196.)

[50]) 1462. 21 novembris — Testamento de mi Chiara Badoer fia de misser Michiel de confin de santa Margarita..... presentibus..... magistro Lazaro Bastiano pictor de contracta sancti Rafaelis. — (Ibid. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Testamenti. Busta n.° 26. Testamento 2159).

[51]) 1463. 18 Februarij — a Lazaro Bastiano..... pro ornata capele Sancti Samuels..... et hoc pingendo unam palam portavit ipse ducatos triginta. Val L. 111. (Ibid. Proc. S. Marco. Misti. B.ª 196).

[52]) 1470. (69 m. v.) 7 Gennajo..... chel se dovese far alcuni telleri in la nostra scuola e de queli solamente sia sta da principio a 3 e de quelli anotadi i pacti e condition come ne li nostri libri apar et alora de le concluxion di altri maestri quali hano principiado fose tractado mercado e pacti cum maistro Lazaro Sabastian penctor el qual perche alora non fo posto in scriptura et el dicto mistro Lazaro hebi rechiesto dicta opera esserli dada come li fu promeso et consultada fra noi officiali tal caxon l'hebi preso provision e debito de dar principio al dicto teler. Et per la sufficientia del dicto maistro Lazaro convegnir cum quello, perho in execucion de la dicta parte e per perficer tal opera.

Nui gabriel Zilberti guardian Grando e compagni cum el dicto maistro Lazaro siamo convegnudi e rimasti dacordo chel debi far el teler el qual e in do campi sopra et proximo al volto de la scalla ne li qual el debi depenzer l' instoria de David secondo el desegno die far de tal instoria el qual visto se possi per nui azonzer e detrazer al parer nostro prima chel nebi dado principio sopra dicto teller e di lavorar quelli a tutte sue spexe de colori, ori azuri et ogni altra cosa sopra dicti telleri acadese i qual colori et oro debano esser in tutta perfection..... e die haver per pagamento et precio rata per rata quelo die haver mistro Jacomo Belin del suo mexurando pe per pe e paso per paso intendando che dicto mistro Lazaro non possi mai astrenzer la scuola a darli denari per dicta caxon..... (Scuola Grande di S. Marco nel 1428 al 1503). G. P. Molmenti. Arch. Venet..... XXXVI. P. 1. pag. 228.

[53]) 1470. 18 Aprilis — Matheus Limone calefatus de Cataro habitans Venetiis..... Comissarios aut huius mei testamenti instituo et esse volo..... et ser Lazarum Bastiani pictorem..... — (Ibid. Testamenti. Grasolario Bartolomeo. Busta n.° 481. Testamento 621).

[54]) 1470. (?) Ser Lazaro de Bastian depentor (Manigola della Scuola di San Girolamo. Museo Correr, MSS. Cicogna N.° 2113).

[55]) 1473. 28 Aprile — (Lettera ricevuta il 25 Giugno). «Pera. A mjo chugnado ser Nicholo Gruatto..... Apresso andatte da Lazaro Bastian che stano sopra el champo di San Polo che cusi li schrivo a luj e fateme far uno quadreto grando come mezo foio de charta di pizolj con la figura de misser Jesu Christo che siano belo chome li schrivo a luj o se per chaxo che Idio el guarda el fusse morto over lo nol volese far, andate da Ziane belino e mostratelj el mio e ditege il volio a quel modo chome stano quelo con quela soaza d' oro polita e bela e di questo non falite..... Ant. di Choradi.

[56]) 1474. 25 Luglio — Ser Ant. di Choradi mio chugnado..... de dar per contadi a maistro lazaro bastian per uno quadro con la figura de messer Gesù Cristo. G. 6. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande della Misericordia, B.ª 23. Commissario Bart. Gruato).

[57]) 1470. 24 decembris — Nos Petrus Bernardus quondam magistri domini Petri judex arbiter et arbitrator ac consanguineus..... Testis: Magister Lazarus Sebastianus pictor. — (Ibid. Cancelleria Inferiore. Nodaro Maza Marco. Busta n.° 123. Sentenza a carte 78).

[58]) 1476. 7 Augusti — Ser Lazarus Bastian pictor quondam ser Jacobi sancti Raffaelis. — (Ibid. S. N. Cancellaria Inferiore. Atti Bono Francesco, protocollo).

[59]) 1478. 7 octobris — Test..... Dona Isabetta relicta ser Antonij de Fior de contrata sancti Rafaelis..... constituo et esse volo meos fidei comissarios et executores huius mei testamenti ..... et magistrum Lazarum pictorem de contrata sancti Raphalis pro minori parte..... — (Ibid. Testamenti. Notaio Quagliano Leonardo. Busta n.° 825. Testamento 103).

[60]) 1482. 22 Novembris — Magistro Lazaro Bastian pintor de contracta Sancte Margarite....., è presente al testamento di Chiara Badoer di Michiele abitante a Santa Margherita. — (Ibid. Sez. Not. Miscellanea. Testamenti. Cassa II. Cassella 6, filza 1).

[61]) 1490. 27 Augusti — Test..... Victorella relicta ser Joannis de Balao piscatoris de confinio sancti Nicolai..... instituo meos fidelles commissarios..... et magistrum Lazarum Bastiano pictorem..... — (Ibid. Testamenti. Notaio Roveda Limon. Busta n.° 848. Testamento 83).

[62]) 1493. 25 novembris — Fu eletto pre Sebastian de maistro Lazaro depentor de S. Rafael..... — (Ibid. Scuola Grande della Carità. Notatorio n.° 253 a carta 20).

[63]) 1493. 1 zener — ..... el qual fu mexo in chambio de ser Sebastian de maistro Lazaro depentor. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande della Carità. Notatorio n.° 253 a carta 20 tergo).

[64]) 1502. 30 Maggio — .....dona Jacomina filia quondam ser Rimondi Pergamensis, et relicta quondam ser Nicolini Mediolanensis. Testes Jurati: Magister Lazarus de Sebastianis pictor de confinio Sancti Nicolaj. Magister Constantinus, pictor de confinio Sancte Margarite. — (Ibid. Cancelleria Inferiore. Atti Bugotichius Biaggio. B. 28 Protocollo C.ta 17to).

[65]) 1494. 1 Giugno — contadi da ser Lazaro Bastian pentor per parte de promesse fexe alla schuola ducati 10. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande di S. Marco. B.ª 82. Giornaletto de Vichari).

[66]) 1498. 25 Agosto — Terminatio sive sententia ser Paulj sculptoris et Joanis eius cognati ..... ipse, partes concordes alligunt prudentes viros ser Lazarum Sebastiano pictorem quondam ser Jacobi de confinio sancti Raphaelis et ser Guariscum condam Viviani sculptorem de confinio sancti Pauli tamquam suos comunes amicos ad videndum..... et appreciandum et sententiandum ipsam palam. — (Ibid. S. N. Cancelleria Inferiore. Atti Battallis Pietro B. 28).

[67]) 1498. 25 Agosto — Prudentes viri dominus Lazarus Sebastiano pictor quondam ser Jacobi de confinio Sancti Rafaelis et ser Guariscus quondam ser Viviani sculptor..... Iudices, inter ser Paulum sculptorem et ser Joanem eius cognatum ex parte una: Et dominum Constancium quondam ser Pauli de villa alta. Et ser Meneginum quondam ser Andree de Recio..... (Cancelleria Inferiore. Atti Battallis Pietro. B. 28).

[68]) 1498. 2 Octobris — Test..... Ego Angela relicta de ultimo leto sir Petri Ravagnani de confinio ad presens Raphaelis Venetiarum..... Testes: Jo Lazaro Bastian depentor testis subscripsi (Autograph). Jo Piero fo de ser Zuane Fero testis subscripsi. (Repetition by the Notary:

Testis. Ser Lazarus Bastiano pictor quondam ser Jacobi de dicto confinio. — Ibid. S. N. Cavanis Bernardo. B. 270. N.° 97).

[69]) Ferrara — Archivio Notarile (Anno 1499. Ind. 1ª) 21 Martij. — Conducta pro pictura Triune facta per Magistrum Blasium Rosettum. Cum sit..... picturari facere in Triuna..... Magister Blasius Rosettus Ingegnerius..... pingi facere et seu picturam construi facere in termina..... cum figuris novem, vasis, capitelis et aliis necessariis ad musaicum fictitium in auro omnibus suis expensis, per duos peritos et sufficientes magistros in arte, videlicet peritum (.....omission). Munitensem compatrem Nicholaj ipsius Magistri Blasij filium (debe essere filij, et peritum Laurentium Costam de bononia una cum Magistro Nicholao de Pise habitatore in domo Magistri Fini..... Hoc pacto inter eas partes instrumento et solemni stipulatione firmato, quod figure faciende in ea triuna juxta dictum designum sint et esse debeant equivalentes et illius sufficientie que reperientur esse due figure faciende et fabrichande in eo episcopatu, unam videlicet manu magistri Bonfazini pictoris, et alia Magistri Lazari pictoris, arbitrande et pro ut extiment dicte partes agentes cum contentamento ut arbitrentur et judicentur per magistrum providum Andrea Mantegnam. — L. N. CITTADELLA, *Documenti ed Illustrazioni risg. la storia artistica Ferrarese.* 1868, pag. 74.

[70]) 1500. 14 Gennaio — .....Venetiis Actum in domo habitationis..... in confinio Sancti Pauli sita presentibus testibus Ser Sabastiano pictore quondam ser Jacobi de confinio Sancti Rafaelis. Et ser Jacobo quondam Johannis mercatore Toscano in rivo alto. Et ser Paulo de Cremona aurifice de Regazonibus de Cremona filio quondam ser Tome notis et rogatis fidem facient..... (Archivio di Stato. Cancelleria Inferiore. Atti Bonetti Zanetto B. 29).

[71]) 1505. XI Iulij — .....La Ill.ma Signoria de Venetia, da et conciede a far lopera di tre stendardi grandi per la piaza de san Marco a maistro *Lazaro Sabastian*, et Benedetto Diana pictori, i qual siano obligati simul et insolidum ad far a perfection ultima et compimento de dicti stendardi cum pacti, modi, et condition qui sotto notadi et contenuti. Et primo. La prefata Ill.ma Signoria promette a dar ali dicti maistri el cendado cuxido per dicti tre stendardi. Cadaun dei qual habia ad esser de longeza braza diexe octo et largo tele tredexe. Promesse etiam dar tuto loro che intrara nel dorar de i dicti tre stendardi et dar anchora tuto lazuro che in quelli metter accadera..... Et per premio satisfaction, et mercede de lopera di dicti stendardi la Ill.ma Signoria promette dar ad maistro *Lazaro* et Benedecto predicti ducati duxento et diexe per cadauno de dicti stendardi, che monta in summa ducati seicento e trenta: i qual danarj promette dargeli de tempore in tempus, et a di per di, secundo che accadera..... essendo obligati i dicti dorar i pomi, o sia croce che se hanno a metter sopra le antene de dicti stendardj senza premio alcuno..... — (Ibid. Notatorio Collegio. Registro n.° 23. carta 149).

[72]) 1508. 11 Decembre — Ser Lazaro Bastian, ser Vettor Scarpaza et ser Vethor de Mathio per nominati da ser Zuan Bellin depentori constituidi alla presentia dei magnifici Signori m. Caroso da cha da pexaro m. Zuan Zentani, m. Maria Gritti et m. Alvise Zanudo provedadori al sal come deputadi electi dipentori a veder quello pol voler la pictura facta sopra la faza del fontego de Thodeschi el facta per maistro Zorzi da Castelfranco, et durati dachordo dixero a giuditio et parer suo meritar el dicto maistro per dicta pictura ducati cento et cinquanta in tutto. (Magistrato del Sale anno 1491-1529: 1505-1514). Ab. Gius. Cadorin in Memorie originali italiane rig. le belle Arti. Bologna, 1840. Serie III. pag. 90).

[73]) Cuiti fati ai sotto schritti et primo..... Ser Lazaro Sabastian depentor a San Rafael per mezo la porta della giexia, miser lo piovan e preti de san Rafael adi 7 marzo 1512, chiama miser lo piovan et preti della giexia de san Rafael per i suo confini. — (Archivio di Stato. Quattro ministeriali. Stride e Chiamori. Registro n.° 87. carta 194t).

[74]) 1512 — Ser Lazaro Bastian pentor a san Rafael mori. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande di San Marco. Reg. (1507) n.° 5).

SONS OF LAZZARO BASTIANI

[75]) 1509. 27 marzo — In execution de uno comandamento de li ezelentissimi signori chapi del conseio de X..... ha fatto le elezion di X novize donzelle fie di fradeli nostri veneziani..... domina Faustina fia de ser Sabastian de Jacomo depentor..... — (Ibid. Scuola Grande della Carità. Notatorio n.° 253 a carta 99).

[76]) 1509. — Paga di Gennaro et Febbraro. All'anno ducati 40. Vincenzo dal Musaico..... ducati 6 grossi, 16.

[77]) 1508. — Libro di Paghe N.° 9, pag. 362. Vincentius Sebastiani a Musaico habere debeat pro paga sex mensium ratione ducatorum quinquaginta in anno, ducatos 25 (G. Saccardo: Les Mosaïques de Saint Marc, pp. 187 and 288).

[78]) 1512. 18 Marzo — Accedit de hessendo uno maistro Vincenzo lavorava di musaico in chiexia di San Marco quale fece quella Santa Tecla erra bon Maistro su certo soler che si lavora in chiexia zercha horra di nona una tavola li vene a mancho cascho vixe do horre e morite

fo gran pechado e cossa più non accaduta in ditta chiexia et perho ne ho voluto far nota.— (Diarii di Marin Sanudo, vol. 15. c. 12 tergo).

[79]) 1513. 9 Julij — Test..... Ego Apolonia relicta quondam ser Jacobi Tinto de confinio sancti Gervasij Venetiarum..... Testis: Jo Vincenzo di Sebastiani chondan misier Lazaro son sta testimonio zurado e pregado de questo testamento ordenado de propria bocha de la sopradita madona Polonia. — (Archivio di Stato. S. N. De Bossis Gerolamo. B. 10 N.° 27).

[80]) 1474. 15 Januaris — Test..... Ego Lucia consors magistri Joannis Vincentij de confinio sancti Silvestri..... Testes: Jo Domenego Saracho depentor testis zurado subscripsi. Jo Zuane de Lazaro depentor testis zurado subscripsi — (Ibid. S. N. Corruccio Vescuncio. B. 735. N.° 295).

[81]) 1471. 21 Settembre — Infrascripti fecerunt se scribi ad probam Juvenum portantium bussulos albos in maiori Consilio. Jacobis filius Lazari Bastianj pictoris. Aloysius pictoris lapicide qui servit in maiori consilio ad portandos bussulos. Aluisius filius Mathei Incisorij qui diu servivit in maiori consilio. Ludovicus Gyrardus Andree Aurificis, Lucas Blanco Mathei intaiatoris — (Ibid. Notatorio Collegio 1467-1473).

[82]) 1489. 30 augusti — Test..... Ego Diana uxor ser Nicolai de sancto Proculo quondam Johannis marinarij et marangoni domorum de confinio sancti Proculi..... Testis: Ego presbiter Sebastianus Sebastiani sancti Raphaelis testis subscripsi. — (Ibid. S. N. Stella Ludovico. B.ª 875, N.° 274).

[83]) 1489. 22 Januarij — Test..... Ego Soradamor uxor ser Nicholai de Lesina marangoni de confinio sancti Petri de Castello. Testis: Ego presbiter Sebastianus Bastiano eclesie sancti Raphaelis testis scripsi.—(Ibid. S. N. Stella Lorenzo. B.ª 875. N.° 147).

[84]) Assenti alla disciplina — Pre Sebastian de magistro Lazaro pentor San Rafael, 1494. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande di San Marco. Mariegola 1480-1547. Registro n.° 4, carta 130 tergo).

[85]) 1497. (8) 16 Februarii — Test..... Ego Hieronima filia quondam Domini Pauli Floravantis et uxor domini Nicolai de Medinis de Brixia. Testis: Ego presbiter Sebastianus Sebastiani titulatus ecclesie sancti Raphaelis Venetiarum testis juratus et rogatus subscripsi. — (Ibid. S. N. Pozzo (da) Gio Francesco. B. 764).

[86]) 1495. 6 Aprile — a pre Sebastian per — dar a colui che fexe i festoni per san Marcho..... L. 3. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande San Marco. B.ª 82. Giornaletto de Vichari).

[87]) 1494. — « Messer pre Sebastian de magistro Lazaro pentor, San Raphael » è inscritto tra i confratelli della Scuola di S. Marco. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande di S. Marco, Mariegola n.° 4).

[88]) 1494. 1 Giugno — « Contadi a pre Sebastian de Bastian per più spexe fate per la festa del Corpus Domini in far do anzoli ed altri adornamenti per la dita festa e per suo fadiga in summa L. 60. s. 17. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande di San Marco. B.ª 82. Giornaletto dei Vichari).

[89]) 1495. 5 Aprile — contadi a pre Sebastiano de Sebastiano, per degli apparecchi da processione L. 141. s. 17. (Ibid. Scuola Grande di San Marco, B.° 82. Giornaletto dei Vichari).

[90]) 1500. 18 Aprile — e per barcha per andar a San Rafaele al depentor de scudi 5-6..... per contadj a pre Sebastian da San Rafael per parte de indorar i schudi. G. J.°.....

30 detto. — Per far chonzar..... le tavola davanti l' altar.

4 Maggio — ..... chontadj..... per una barcha portto a San rafael a ttavola davanti l'allttar a chonzar..... et a pre Sebastian da San rafael per resto..... per depenzer ed adorar i scudi ..... — (Ibid. Conti per la Cappella Bernabò a San Giovanni Grisostomo. Scuola Grande della Misericordia. Not. 166).

Appendix to Chapter II

Documents

THE SCARPAZZA FAMILY OF VENICE

Lateral Branch at S. Raffaelle

[1]) 1363. 19 octobris — Rogavit ser Raphael Scarpazo sancti Raphaelis fieri cartam de filiali subieptione cum ceteris suis heredibus Francisco dilecto filio suo..... de eodem confinio..... — (Archivio di Stato. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Atti Pietro Venier. Busta 6).

[2]) 1363. 19 octobris — Rogavit suprascriptus ser Raphael Scarpazo sancti Raphaelis cum ceteris suis heredibus fieri simillem cartam Paulo filio suo dilecto de dicto confinio sancti Raphaelis..... — (Ibid. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Atti Pietro Venier. Busta 6).

[3]) 1397. 16 octobris — Ego Symona rellicta ser Petri de Bernadigio et filia quondam ser Johannis Vincimalle..... Item vollo et ordino quod post meum decessum dentur de meis bonis ser Paullo Scarpazio ducati quinque auri pro anima mea..... — (Ibid. S. N. Notaio Bonicardi Girolamo. Busta n.° 68. Testamento 294).

[4]) 1363. 19 octobris — Rogavit suprascriptus ser Raphael Scarpazo sancti Raphaelis cum ceteris suis heredibus fieri simillem cartam suprascripte Natali dilecto filio suo et suis heredibus de suprascripto confinio sancti Raphaelis..... — (Ibid. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Atti Pietro Venier. B.ª 6).

[5]) 1363. 19 octobris — Rogavit suprascriptus ser Raphael Scarpazo sancti Raphaelis cum ceteris suis heredibus fieri simillem cartam suprascripte Anthonio predilecto filio suo de predicto confinio sancti Raphaelis..... — (Ibid. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Atti Pietro Venier. B.ª 6).

[6]) 1364, 23 Junij — Rogavit Angelus Balbi quondam ser Petri sancti Nicolai fieri cartam securitatis cum suis heredibus Francisco Balbi quondam ser Raphaelis sancti Nicolai..... Testes: Paulus Scarpazo sancti Raphaelis..... — (Ibid. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Atti Pietro Venier. B.ª 6).

[7]) 1364. 23 junij — Rogavit Franciscus Balbi condam ser Raphaelis sancti Nicolai fieri cartam securitatis cum suis heredibus Victori Balbi quondam ser Dardi eius consanguineo..... Testes: Paulus Scarpazo..... — (Ibid. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Atti Pietro Venier, B.ª 6).

[8]) 1382. 23 septembris — Testam..... ego Laurencia uxor Pellegrini Bafo..... Testis: Ego Benevenutus Scharpazo testis subscripsi. — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Notaio Pietro Pensaben. B.ª 830).

[9]) 1382. 22 februarij — Testam..... ego Agnexina uxor ser Chechi Scarpazo de confinio sancti Raphaelis..... constituo meum fideicommissarium solum ser Chechum Scarpazo virum meum..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Notaio Pietro Pensaben. B.ª 830).

[10]) 1383. 22 martij — Testam..... ego Johannes Istriano quondam ser Marini, de confinio sancti Nicolai..... Ego Benvenutus Scharpazo testis subscripsi. Testes: Donatus de Marcho Sancti Basilij, Petrus Belino, et Benvenutos Scharpazo ambo Sancti Nicolai. — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Notaio Pietro Pensaben. B.ª 830).

[11]) 1386. 26 Aprils — Testam..... ego Clara uxor ser Natalis Scarpazo de confinio sancti Raphaelis..... constituo esse meos fideicommissarios suprascriptum ser Natalem Scarpazo virum meum et Franciscum fratem meum carissimum..... in missis celebrandis pro anima mea, et unam

similiter pro anima quondam domine Chaterine Balbi olim matris mee..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Notaio Pietro Pensaben. Busta 830).

[12]) 1419. 11 aprilis — Quod ad humiles supplicationes fidelissimi civis nostri *Raphaelis Scarpazo* cui tempore hungaro manus sibi amputata fuit, considerata inopia sua et familia de qua est oppressus, fiat sibi gratia in sustentatione vitæ suæ, quod habeat unam bancham piscariæ Rivoalti, quam habebat quondam Nicolaus Gaffaro per modum, quo dictus Nicolaus habebat. — (Ibid. Grazie, 1417-1423. Registro n.° 21. carta 30).

[13]) 1435. 5 marzo — Ser Hetor Pasqualigo e mi Alvise Iustinian. Nicholo de Vigna afinador per tuto maistro ala finaria con el contrascrito signal. Rafael Scharpazo con el so segno..... Bevegnu Scharpazo vechio maistro..... Rafael Scharpazo a san Nichollo morto..... — (Ibid. Provveditori in Zecca. Capitolar delle Brocche. R.° 5. carta 36 tergo).

[14]) 1440. 3 otubre — Nui Marcho Valier, Alvixe Iustinian, et Alvixe Loredan hoficiali al dicto hoficio tollessemo et afermassemo ala finaria questi afinadori soto scricti con i sotoscritti si gnalli et prima Benvegnudo Scharpacio per tuto maistro et vechio con el dicto signal..... Rafael Scharpacio per tutto maistro con el dicto signal..... — (Ibid. Provveditori in Zeca. Capitolar delle Brocche. R.° 5. carta 37).

[15]) 1454. 1 octobris — Ser Raphael Scarpaza quondam ser Benvenuti Scarpaza de confinio sancti Nicolaj de Mendicolis rogavit cartam securitatis dotis ac repromisse domine Rose de Altilia uxori sue..... — (Ibid. Cancelleria Inferiore. Ab Helmis Francesco. B.ª 76).

[16]) 1473. 11 settembre — Donna Margherita vedova di Rafaello Scharpazza di Venezia testifica nella rogazione d'un instrumento davanti al notaio. — (Ibid. Miscellanea. Atti notai diversi. Busta 4).

[17]) 1467. 21 ottobre — Testamento di Agnese vedova di Nicolò Lanza..... Testis: ser Raphaele Scarpatio de Benvenuti ser Nicolai..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Nodaro Lorenzo Negro. B.ª 749).

[18]) 1464. 28 Aprilis — Rogavit Franciscus filius condam ser Bartholomei Scarpazo sancti Gervaxij cum suis heredibus fieri cartam securitatis ser Johanni Scarpazo sancti Raphaelis patruo suo..... — (Ibid. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Atti Pietro Venier. Busta 6).

[19]) 1415. 11 Maij — Test..... Nos Nicolaus Baduario q.^{m} domini Marci..... T.^{is}: Ego Mafeus Scarpaza. — (Ibid. S. N. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Franciscus de Gibellino. B.ª 32. Protocollo carta 2).

[20]) 1438. 10 martij — Ser Mapheus Scarpaza dictus varotarius quondam ser Bartolomei rogavit cartam commissarie in personam ser Nicholay Justiniano quondam ser Antonij de confinio sancti Viti ad placitandum..... — (Ibid. Cancelleria Inferiore. Notaio Tabarini Odorico. Busta n. 215. Protocollo. carta 5).

[21]) 1473, 20 septembris — ser johanes Scarpazio quondam ser Maphei testis productus iuratus et examinatus..... — (Ibid. Proprio. Vadimoni. Reg. 6. carta 4 tergo).

Lateral Branch (The Merchants)

[1]) 1360, 18 Marzo — c. 84/85) — Giovanni Gomarelli di Maiorca dichiara d'aver rirevuto da Marco Bembo e Tomaso Gradenigo, ufficiali alle *rason*, procuratori del doge, le seguenti somme..... lire 100 di Maiorca pagate a *Lodovico Scarpazo*, e lire 1500 a lui stesso..... — (Archivio di Stato. Commemoriali della Repubblica. Regesti. T. II. n.° 186 (VI.) Venezia 1878).

[2]) 1356. 5 Marzo — c. 76 (74) t° Raffaino de' Caresini dichiara a Luchino dal Verme luogotenente in Genova d'aver ricevuto da Benedetto Finamore, Nazario Castagna, Ilario Pinelli e Gabriele Carena, mastri razionali e massari generali di quel comune, diverse merci che si descrivono, appartenenti ai Veneziani qui sotto specificati, le quali sono state catturate da genovesi insieme ad una cocca comandata da Sebastiano Veniero..... I proprietari delle merci sono Nicolò suddetto, Giovanni Dandolo..... *Martino Scarpazo*..... — (Ibid. — Commemoriali della Repubblica — Regesti, T. II, n.° 141 (V) Venezia 1878).

[3]) 1362 — 18 gennaio — c. 125 (127) Giovanni Foscari procuratore di:..... *Marino Scarpazo* ..... danneggiati dai sudditi del re d'Aragona, trasmette a Raffaino de' Caresini le proprie facoltà..... — (Ibid. Commemoriali delli Repubblica. Regesti. T. II, n.° 285 (VI) Venezia 1878).

[4]) 1385, 12 Julji — Plenam et irrevocabilem securitatem facio ego Chataruza filia condam domini Marini Scarpazo et nunc uxor ser Danieli de Benedicto de confinio sancti Thome cum meis successoribus vobis domine Christine relicte domini Marini Scarpazo matris mee dilecte de dicto confinio sancti Thome..... — (Ibid. S. N. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Atti G. Ghibellino. B.ª 3).

[5]) 1414 (?) — Test..... Ego Christina Scarpacio relicta ser Marini Scarpacio sancte Marie Formose..... esse volo fideicommissarios Francischinam filiam meam dilectam et ser Andream Massario generum meum, et dominam Angelam Delphino sancti Felicis sorerem meam..... dimitto Anthonie nepti mee filie ser Nicolai de Prata pro suo maritare sive monachare vel

aliud secundum voluntatem dictorum meorum commissariorum..... Item dare debeat Lucie nepti mee uxori ser Lucie Ariano sancti Raphaelis ducatos vigintiquinque auri..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti in atti Federigo Stefani. B.ª 1231. n.º 455).

[6]) *Perhaps from this branch also descends* Marco: Testam..... MCCCLXXI mense maij die III..... ego Coleta filia condam ser Zan Andrea Contro de Venetia..... Testis: *Marcus Scharpazo pictor* sancti Thome a ca Faledro..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Notaio Bursariis (de) Antonio Busta n.º 379. Testamento 35).

DIRECT LINE

[1]) 1348, 11 aprillis — Ser Petrus Scarpazo (I) sancti Felicis..... — (Archivio di Stato. S. N. Atti Zen Zenone. B.ª 1110. carta 13.

[2]) 1362, 6 aprillis — Rogavit ser Petrus Scarpazo sancti Nicolai..... fieri cartam securitatis repromisse Zanete eius uxori de dicto confinio (sancti Nicolai) — Ibid. S. N. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Brani di protocolli. B.ª 8. N. 61.

[3]) 1362, 6 aprillis — Rogavit ser Victor condam Leazari sancti Nicolay de Mendicolis fieri cartam securitatis ser Petro Scarpazo eius genero dicti confinij sancti Nicolay ..... — (Ibid. S. N. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Brani di protocolli. B.ª 8 n.º 61).

[4]) 1372, 24 aprilis — .....Actum Pupilie in domo Leonardi Bafo, presentibus Andraxo Balbi filio ser Nicolai, Antolino Scarpazo filio condam ser Petri..... — (Ibid. S. N. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Atti M. Galedello. B.ª 3).

[5]) 1397, 20 septembris.....— Antonius Scarpazo quondam ser Petri de confinio sancti Nicolay..... constituo et esse volo meam commissariam Beruzam relictam dicti ser Petri Scarpazo matrem meam dilectam..... — (Ibid. Cancelleria Inferiore. Miscellanea. Notai diversi. Busta 22. Testamento n.º 925.

[6]) 1430, 6 febrarij — Pro domina Maria Scarpazo contra Thomasinam Scarpazo ad omnia facienda..... — (Ibid. Proprio. Vadimoni. Reg.º 1, carta 49).

[7]) 1430, 5 octobris — Dona Maria Scarpazo ultra quod ser Victor Scarpazo eius filius, sit pro ea scriptum in Curia contra omnis et omnia faciendum..... — (Ibid. Proprio. Vadimoni. Reg.º 1. carta 49).

[8]) 1440, 4 aprilis — .....facio ego Maria Scarpazo de confinio sencti Raphaelis de Venetiis tibi Donato Buxello commissario de ducatis decem..... (Ibid. S. N. Nodaro Polo Gregorio. Busta 14).

[9]) 1444, 10 aprilis — Test..... Ego Maria relicta ser Antonij Scarpazo de confinio Sancti Raphaelis in domo proprie mee habitationis..... esse volo meos fideles commissarios Victorem dilectum filium meum et Marianum atque Petrum eius filios..... Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum..... dimitto Victori filio meo..... — Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Atti nodaro Polo Gregorio. Busta 14. Testamento n.º 86).

VITTORE SCARPAZZA I

[10]) 1456, 25 setembris — Test..... Io Lutia relita de ser Vetore Scarpaza del confin de San Raphael..... comissarij volio sia mie fiuoli, zoe Marin Scharpaza, Santo, Antuonio, Marcho e Zuane fradeli..... A mio fio Piero non laso alchuna chossa perche lui ha habudo la sua parte avanti che mo è questo per la centura che lui i a habui per il debito da cha Zane che più tosto volse che la se perdese che schuoderla, e per altre sue crudeltà e puoche bonta.

(*a tergo*) — 1456, 12 novembris — Testamentum domine Lucie relicte ser Victoris Scarpazo de confinio Sancti Raphaelis scriptum aliena manu, et secundum formam partis capte super inde, omnibus inde expulsis sibi soli legi que dixit stare secundum suam intentionem volentis quod debeat presenti reducere in formam publicam, et dare secundum ordines venetiorum..... — (Ibid. S. N. Notaio Davanzago Andrea. Busta n.º 368).

[11]) 1462, 16 mai — Test..... io Lucia relita de ser Victor Scarpaza del confin de san Rafael..... Lasso mio fedel commissario et exequutor de questa mia ultima voluntà Marin Scharpaza mio dileto fio..... Item a Piero mio fio non lasso alguna cossa per aver lui abudo del mio quanto lui sa, tuti veramente le mie beni..... lasso a Marin, Santo e Marco mie fili egualmente fra loro..... (Ibid. — S. N. — Not.º Bartolomeo de Camuzi. B. 385 prot.º c.ª 60).

1. Pietro Scarpazza (II)

[12]) 1454, 10 Martij — Test..... ego Zanina relicta ser Francisci de contra sancti Raphaelis ..... Testis: Ser Petrus Scarpaza filius ser Victoris..... — (Ibid. S. N. Notaio Trevisan Gio. Bono. Busta n.º 983. Testamento 165).

[13]) 1457, 11 decembris — Test..... ego soror Lutia tertij ordinis sancti Francisci relicta ser Angeli Memo de contra sanctis Raphaelis..... Testis: Ser Petrus Scarpaza filius ser Victoris..... — (Ibid. S. N. — Notaio Trevisan Gio. Bono. Busta n.° 983, Testamento 195).

[14]) 1486, 8 avosto — per sacho ditto afitti in monte contadi da ser Piero Scharpaza per parte de fitto ducati XIII portoli *Vetor* (II) suo fiol..... val. L. I, s. VI — (Procuratori di S. — Procuratia de Supra — Libro di Cassa per Chiesa. R.° 1).

THE OTHER SONS OF VITTORE I

2. Zuane Scarpazza, frate Ilario

[1]) Zuane de Scarpazo (fo tolto lano 1466) — Archivio di Stato. Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista. Mariegola. Registro. n.° 11.

[2]) 1472, 21 septembris..... — ego frater *Ilarius Scarpaza* qui in seculo nominabor Johannes Scarpazio filius condam ser *Victoris* Civis et habitator Venetiarum in confinio sancti Raffaelis, nunc residens in monasterio sancte Ursule extra muros Padue ordinis sancti Francisci premissa considerans per que animo disposui militare Deo sub regula et habitu dicti gloriosissimi Seraphici Francisci sub qua per animum continuam perseverari regulam observandum et habitum dicti ordinis differendo..... Meos instituo fidei commissarios et huius mei testamenti executores *Petrum Scharpazo varotarium fratrem meum*, ac Ilarionem filium quondam ser Andree de Rayniis nepotem meum..... dimitto *Victori* nepoti meo *filio Sancti Scharpazo fratris mei* omnem illam partem seu portionem que michi spectat..... de dotis quondam matris mee..... Item dimitto *Marino*, *Sancto* et *Marco Scarpazo fratribus meis* omnes meos pannos, laneos et lineos, ac massaritias et arnesi a domus equaliter inter eos etiam cum conditione infrascripta videlicat quod omnia legata superius facta et dimissa dictis tribus fratribus meis et dicto *Victori filio dicti Sancti* fratris mei prout superius in tribus capitulis apparet, volo quod valeant et teneant vigoremque ac firmitatem habeant in quantum dicti *Marinus*, *Sanctus* et *Marcus* libere et absque aliqua cavillatione dent, et assignent Ilarioni et Ieronimo nepotibus meis filiis condam ser Andree de Raynis cognati mei omnes res, pannos laneos et lineos, vestes, massaritias, et alia suppellectilia que habent de eorum ratione et quod aliquid litis aut questionis tam pro expensis pro eis factis quam pro denariis eis seu quondam patri suo accomodatis, et alia quacumque conditione, modo seu causa non moveant, nec movere debeant, aut petant neque petere possint ullo quodam modo, forma vel ingenio. Et si aliter fecerint illico sint omnes predicti: *Marinus*, *Sanctus*, et *Marcus*, ac *Victor filius* dicti *Sancti* privati de dictis legatis et nihil ipsi vel alter eorum de hiis que supra ordinavi habeant nec habere debeant seu debeat; Sed illico omnia dicta bona et legata perveniant et pervenire debeant libere et expedite in dictos Ilarionem et Ieronimum nepotes meos ac *Victorem filium dicti fratris mei Petri Scharpazo varotarii* equaliter inter eos pro tercio..... prout in quoddam instrumento publico confecto manu notarii infrascripti sub die ultimo Iulii 1471 apparet. Ideo declaro, volo, et ordino quod totum dictum terrenum dimitto dicto *Petro Scharpazo varotario* fratri meo..... Residuum vero omnium aliorum bonorum meorum..... dimitto fratribus meis *Marino*, *Sancto*, et *Marco*, cum condictione..... quod debeant restituere dicta bona dictis Ilarioni et Ieronimo et eos non molestent..... et casu quo secus facerent immediate volo quod dictum residuum perveniat in ipsos Ilarionem et Ieronimum ac Victorem *filium dicti Petri fratris* mei pro tercio videlicet inter eos..... Signum suprascripti fratris Ilarii qui in seculo vocabatur *Iohannes Scharpazo* qui hec fieri rogavit..... (Ibid. S. N. Notaio Zamberti Lodovico. Busta 1067, n.° 66).

3. Antonia Scarpazza

[1]) 1467, 15 aprilis..... Ego Paulus Benedicto Sancte Marie Jubenico plebanus notarius..... hac cedula ex testamentaria..... autenticavi..... 1448, 19 setembris ego Antonia uxor ser Andree de Brisia de confinio sancti Ieremie..... lego meo (*sic*) commissarios dominam Luciam Scarpaza matrem meam et maritum suum ser Andream de Brisia..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti Atti Benedetto Paolo. Busta 1149, n.° 35).

4. Antonio Scarpazza, frate Luca

[1]) 1448. Ser *Anttuonio Scharpazo* a san Nichollo; di Lhordenadi IIIIIII; domenege IIIIIIIIIII; corpi IIIIII; procession — (Ibid. Scuola Grande di San Marco. B.ª 228. Libri antichi di contabilità R.° II).

[2]) 1452, 28 aprilis. Testamentum ser Donati Zaparin (or Ciaparin) de confinio Sancti Raphaelis. Mi Donado Ciaparin ..... Testis : — Anthonius Scharpazo filius ser Victoris santi Raphaelis..... — (Ibid. S. N. Notaio Davanzago Andrea. Busta n.° 368).

[3]) 1461, 22 martij. Test..... ego Dompnus Lucas alias Antonius filius quondam ser Victoris Scharpacia de confinio sancti Raphaelis..... constituo et esse volo meam solam commissariam et huius mee ultime voluntatis exequutrix honestissimam dominam Luciam matrem meam dilectam relictam a dicti condam ser Victoris cui dicte Lucie dimito omnia mea bona mobilia et immobilia..... (Dead before 1468). — (Ibid. S. N. Notaio Bartolomeo Camuzzi. Busta n.° 385. Testamento 121).

[4]) 1468, 12 otubrio. — Dona Maria moier de ser Alberto chomo e fia che fo de ser Antonio Scharpazo chomo eriede de suo pare..... (Not mentioned in Fra Luca's Will) — (Ibid. Stride, e Chiamori. Quattro Ministeriali. Reg. 48. carta 53 tergo).

[5]) 1480, 14 novembris — Test..... ego Maria filia quondam ser Antonii Scarpazo uxor providi viri ser Alberti Avin quondam ser Iacobi..... volo esse meos commissarios et huius mee uitime voluntatis exequtores Albertum dilectum meum maritum, et Augustinum de Moixe compatrem meum, quibus animam meam recommendo..... Item vollo maritari Victoriam filiam meam adoptivam de bonis mee repromisse..... — (Ibid. S. N. Atti Notaio Camuzzi Bartolomeo. Busta 385. C. 223).

5. Sante Scarpazza

[1]) 1457 — indictione octava die vero martis quo ser Sancto Scarpaza quondam Victoris confessus est se integre recepisse a dona Helisabeth dilecta uxore sua ducatos centum viginti sex..... — (Ibid. Manimorte. Venezia. Miscellanea. Pergamene, 1490-1499).

[2]) 1473 (4), 12 gennaio..... Fato el choito a dona Isabeta Scharpaza chomo propinqua adi 16 zener..... — (Ibid. Quattro Ministeriali. Stride e Chiamori. Registro 50. carta 99).

[3]) 1480, 31 maggio — Vettor Scarpaza quondam Santo vende una casa a san Raphael..... — (Esaminador. Preces. Reg. 38, carta 40 tergo).

[4]) 1496, 13 maij..... Dona Helisabeth relicta ser Sancti Scharpazo quondam Victoris..... (Ibid. Manimorte. Venezia. Miscellanea. Pergamene, 1490-1499).

Vittore Scarpazza III. (*Son of Sante*)

[1]) 1480, 31 maggio — Vettor Scarpazo quondam Santo vende una casa a san Raphael..... — (Ibid. Quattro Ministeriali. Stride e Chiamori. Reg. 58. carta 101 e 162 tergo).

[2]) 1481..... 4 zugno — fatto (el cuito) a ser Vettor Scarpazo suo nevodo (di Piero Scarpazza) — (Ibid. Quattro Ministeriali. Stride e Chiamori. Reg. 58. carta 131 tergo.)

[3]) 1517 a di 30 dezembrio — Condizion de mi Vettor Scarpaza fo de ser Santo come me truovo aver nela contra de San Raffael parte de una caxa dove io abito..... — (Ibid. Dieci Savi sopra le decime in Rialto. Estimo 1514. Condizioni S. Raffaele. B.ª 38, n.° 81).

[4]) 1518 — Maistro Vettor Scharpaza de la Zudecha — (P. Paoletti. Bollettino delle Arti e Curiosità, Anno 1894, p. 58).

[5]) 1525, adi 6 marzo — fatto el cognito a ser Marcho fiol fo de ser Victor Scharpaza propinquo. — Adi ditto a ser Santo suo fradel propinquo. — Adi ditto a ser Gasparo Scharpaza come propinquo e lateran (zio) — (Ibid. Quattro Ministeriali. Stride e Chiamori. Registro 28. carta 185 tergo).

[6]) 1533, 7 aprilis — Ser Victor (Ferro) et domina Franceschina uxor ser Sancti Scarpaza frater et soror..... — Ibid. Proprio. Vadimoni Reg. 17. carta 97).

[7]) 1534. — ser Santo Scarpazza fo de ser Vettor. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande di S. Gio. Evangelista. Mariegola dal 1501 al 1539. R.° 13).

[8]) 1548, 11 Januarij — Ad instantiam domine Helisabeth filie quondam ser Victoris Scarpatia uti donatrix quondam ser Sancti Scarpatia eius fratris..... quondam ser Aloysio Scarpatia patruo dicti quondam ser Sancti et fratri dicti quondam ser Victoris mortuo ab intestato Nazaret. — (Ibid. Procurator Stride. Reg. 18. carta 100 t.°).

Gaspar Scarpazza, Goldsmith (*Son of Sante*)

[1]) 1499 adi 23 febraro. — Io Zan Alvise Querini fo de messer Jeronimo..... Ed io Martin fio fo de ser Jachomo da Tresonta bergamascho fo testamonio — *Gasparo Scharpaza* sta a san Rafael de quanto schrito fo testimonio. — (Ibid. S. N. Nodaro Marsilio Antonio. Busta n.° 1210. N.° 626).

[2]) 1514, 22 avosto — Condizion de mi *Gasparo Scarpaza* fo di sior *Santino* e *Alvixe* mio *nevodo* in san Rafael. — (Ibid. — Dieci Savi sopra la Decione in Sialtro (*decime in Rialto*) — Condizion 1514. S. Rafael n.° 15).

[3]) 1528, 31 augusti — ..... Unde cognoscendosi aptissimo et sufficientissimo a questo *Gasparo Scarpaza* longamente exercitato et afaticatosi in cecha, per autorita di questo conseio, sij acceptado

dicto Gasparo per fondador de respetto in dicta cecha cum salario de ducato uno al mese tantum, come se contien in la parte predicta..... — (Ibid. Consilio X. — Coranni B.° 4 c.e 83 t.)

[4]) 1533, 11 septembris — .....io *Gasparo Scarpaza* quondam ser *Sancto* de la contra de San Raphael..... lasso a *Helisabet Lutieta* et *Anzoleta* mie fiole, ho habudo cum dona anzelica fia de ser Antonio caleger loro madre et siano mie o non mie fiole, de et sopra la mia casa, posta in San Raphael..... Item lasso a *Zuan Maria* et *Alvise mei fioli* nasciuti de la predetta anzelica sua madre, et..... siano mei o non mei fioli equalmente le predette mie casa e possession..... A *Filippo* veramente suo *fio*, el qual etiam se dice esser mio che non lo credo, et sia mio o non mio per le mal sue opere, lassoli ducati vinticinque, e non più de li mei beni, aricordandoli si rimova da li vicij et compagnie et attenda a far ben; Item lasso a li mei *nepoti fu fioli* de *Vettor* et *Alvise Scarpaza* che furono mei fioli per la consanguinità ducati quattro..... — (Ibid S. N. Testamenti. Atti Gio. Giacomo de raspis. Busta 835, n.° 172).

[5]) 1534, die 31 augusti — Ser Paulus Vallaressus, ser Petrus Baduarius, ser Leonardus Justinianus capita. Ser Gabriel Venerius, ser Dominicus Trivisanus, ser Petrus Maurocenus, Advocatores. Quod iste *Gaspar Scarpaza* ex consulto et decreto Serenissimi Principis, Consiliariorum et Capitum huius Consilij retentus, propter imputationem, quod cum exerceret officium funditoris in cecha, aurum dolose et fraudolenter furatus fuerit, sicuti hoc consilium ex ijs, que modo lecta fuere; intellexit auctoritate huius consilij sit bene retentus, et per collegium extraordinarium debeat examinari cum facultate, pro maiori parte, torquendi eum, si de plano verum fateri noluerit, nec non retinendi, seu proclamari faciendi, et torquendi alios complices, et cum ijs, quae habebuntur postea veniatur ad hoc consilium pro facienda iustitia. — De parte De non - o. — Non sinceri - o. — (Ibid. Consilio Dieci. Criminal. Registro, a. 1526-1534, carte 168 tergo).

[6]) 1534, 28 septembris — in Cons. X — Si videtur volis per ea que dicta et lecta sunt quod procedatur contra istum *Gasparem Scarpaza* collegiatum et confessum. — De procedendo - 16 — De non - o — Non sinceri - o. — Serenissimus Princeps, ser Federicus Rhenerius, ser Pandulfus Maurocenus, ser Joannes Maurus Consiliarij Advocatores. Volunt quod iste *Gaspar* die veneris proximo, hora consueta ducatur inter duas columnas, ubi super uno pari furcarum debeat laque suspendi per cannas gutturis, ita quod anima a corpore separetur: et quod pecunia, aurum, iocalia, et argenta omnis generis reperta et inventariata ab ipso aquisita per latrocinium malo modo, remaneat in cecha nostra. — De parte - 7. — Volunt quod sit confinatus ad standum in carceri forti perpetuo clausus ubi vitam finire habeat, unde ulla si umquam tempore aufugerit, et captas fuerit, debeat suspendi laqueo per cannas gutturi super uno pari furcarum inter duas columnas, sic quod anima a corpore separetur, ut supra, et qui eum ceperit, ac presentaverit in vires nostras, consequatur libras quinque parvorum. Et quod pecunia, aurum, iocalia, et argenta omnis generis, que inventa inventariataque fuerunt, aquisita ab ipso *Gaspare* malo modo per latrocinium ut supra, remaneant in cecha nostra: omnium vero aliorum eius bonorum fundus non possit vendi nec alienari ullo modo, sed restet obligatus solutioni talaa predicte, etiam si foret pro maiori summa. Et hoc super scallis Rivoalti publicetur, excepto eo, quod dicitur de pecuniis, auro et, alijs debentibus remanere in cecha. — De parte - 9 — Non sinceri - o. (Ibid. Consilio Dieci. Criminal. Registro. a. 1526-1534, carte 171 tergo).

[7]) Per obedir ala parte noviter presa nelo Ex.mo Conseglio de Pregadi sotto di 11 Lhottubrio 1537 de dar in notta le sue intrade per tanto io *Gasparo Scharpaza orese* el qual è confinado in la forte in vita sua per lo Ex.mo Consegio di X habitava nela contra de San Raffael dago in notta la mia povera condicion a vui magnifici Signori X Savij sopra le decime et prima..... — (Ibid. Dieci Savii sopra le decime in Rialto. Estimo 1537. Busta 61, n.° 23).

[8]) 1538, 23 octobris..... — io *Casparo Scarpaza* quondam ser *Santo* detenuto et essendo carcerato ne la prexon forte del palazo di San Marco de Venetia..... lasso la mia dona dona madona et sola commessaria..... Item lasso a *Hysabeta Lucia* e *Anzola* mie *fie* ducati duxento per chadauna de esse per el suo maridar..... El residuo..... lasso a *Zuan Maria* et *Alvixe* mei dilectissimi *figlioli* tra loro da esser egualmente diviso. Item lasso a *Santo* et *Marco* fioli del *quondam Vetor Scarpaza* mio *fratello* ducato uno per chadaun de loro..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Atti Glo. Batta Cigrigni. Busta 208. n.° 83).

[9]) 1535, 14 aprilis — Emptio ser *Gasparis Scharpazza aurificis* quondam ser Sancti..... — (Ibid. S N. Atti Benzon Diotisalvi. Busta 355 bis, fascicolo II, carta 45.t).

[10]) 1548, 2 septembris — Commissio domine Agnesine *relicte* quondam ser *Angeli Scarpaza*. In Christi nomine amen, die secundo septembris suprascripti, Hon.a domina Angelica *relicta* quondam ser *Gasparis Scarpaza* habitatrix in confinio sancti Angeli Raphaelis agens..... — (Ibid. S. N. Atti Benzon Diotisalvi. Registro 364, carta 241 t.°).

[11]) 1513, 21 marcij — Domina Helisabeth *relicta* ser *Aloysij Scarpaza* pischatoris..... — (Ibid. Proprio. Mobili. Registro 1, carta 189).

[12]) 1549, 29 Januarij — Ommissio domine Angelicae relictae ser *Gasparis Scarpazza*..... — (Ibid. S. N. Atti Benzon Diotisalvi. Registro 365, carta 26t).

6 & 7. Marino and Marco Scarpazza

1) 1471, adi 16 giugno in San Rafael. — Ser Marin e ser Marcho Scharpazo e fradeli fa investir a proprio un teren vachuo meso nel confin de San Rafael..... — (Ibid. Quattro Ministeriali. Stride e Chiamori. R.° 48, carta 96).

2) 1481, adi 5 hottubrio in San Rafael..... — Ser Marin Scharpazo per suo nome e chome prochurador de Marcho suo fradello a venduto a messer Jacomo Lion..... un teren vachuo over *squero*..... in San Rafael.....

3) Adi 4 zugno — Fatto el cuito a ser Piero Scharpazo (pescador ?) come propinquo e llateran (*uncle or cousin*) — (Ibid. Quattro Ministeriali. Stride e Chiamori. R.° 58, c. 131 t.°.)

4) 1525, 4 marzo — dona Paulla relicta ser Marcho Scarpaza fa investir..... le proprietà..... de San Rafael — (Ibid. Quattro Ministeriali. Stride e Chiamori. R.° 28, c. 185 t.°.)

5) 1490, 26 augusti — Essendo nuovamente morto *Marco Scharpaza Guardian del Kastel de lido*..... — (Ibid. Notatorio. Collegio. Reg. 22. c. 20 tergo (perhaps from Mazzorbo).

ANOTHER LATERAL BRANCH

Pietro Scarpazza, Fisherman (III)

1) 1481, 4 zugno. — Fatto el cuito a ser Piero Scarpazo come proqinquo e llateran (*uncle or cousin of* Marin Scarpazza) — (Ibid. Quattro Ministeriali. Stride e Chiamori. Reg.° 58, c. 131 t.°.)

2) 1491, 10 novembre — Petrus Scarpaza piscator S. Raphaelis ucciso — (Ibid. Signori di Notte. Criminal. R.° 15, c. 51 t.°.)

3) 1540, 17 dezembrio — Dona Chiara fiola del quondam ser Piero Scarpaza..... — (Ibid. Quattro Ministeriali. Stride e Chiamori. R.° 116, c. 75).

Francesco Scarpazza, Fisherman (*Brother of Pietro, Fisherman ?*)

1) 1478, 7 Julij..... — Dona Stephanella uxor ser Francisci Scharpazo piscatoris de contrata sancti Raphaelis..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti in Atti del Notaio Roveda Simone. Busta 858, n.° 78).

Ser Lazaro Scarpazopescador — san Rafael — mori adi 18 setembre 1484 — (Ibid. Scuola Grande di San Marco. Reg. Confratelli, n.° 3).

1508, 11 decembris — Testam..... Stephanella relicta egregii viri ser Francisci Scarpazo et filia quondam ser Ioannis Ferro de confinio sancti Raphaelis..... — (Cedule testamentarie chiuse. Lettera S. a).

2) 1514, 28 settembrio — Chondition de mi Stefanela Scharpaza relita de ser Francesco dago in nota a lofizio vostro..... — (Ibid. Dieci Savi sopra le decime in Rialto. Condizion San Rafael. Busta 38).

3) 1525, 18 decembris — Ego Stephanella relicta quondam ser Francisci Scarpatio piscatoris de confinio sancti Raphaelis..... esse volo meos fideicommissarios dominam Ludovicam filiam meam relictam quondam Zaneti Rubei et Alovisium nepotem meum condam Andree filii mei ..... Item dimitto Lazaro filio meo ducatos quatuor.....quod habere debet virtute instrumenti rogati per presbiterum Antonium Spiti inter quondam Laurentium olim filium meum et ipsum Lazarum. Item dimitto Anzille nepti mee quondam Laurentij tantam sarziam pro una vestitura. Item dimitto Angele nepti mee filie quondam Joannis totidem sarzie pro altera vestitura..... Item dimitto Mariette filie mee ducatum unum..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Atti. Antonio Marsilio. Busta 1214, n.° 972).

4) 1534, primo octubrio — Fede fazo io Zuan Piero Bendo come dona Stefanela Scharpaza è morta zercha ani octo. — (Ibid. Miscellanea Ricevute. Testamenti restituiti. B. n.° 62).

5) 1499, 9 Aprilis — Domina Marieta filia ser Francisci Scarpazo et uxor desponsata ser Nicolai Zancharolo piscatoris de confinio sancti Nicolai..... — (Ibid. Miscellanea Pergamene. Santa Maria Valverde. Busta 21).

6) 1533, 19 marzo — Spexa fatta per Lazaro Scarpaza a san Nicolo et fo sopultto a Sancta Croce nela nostra archa n.° 14... L. 10 - 6. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande di San Marco. Busta n.° 220. Sepulture).

7) 1495, 18 Januarij — Ser Baldassar Trivisanus, ser Leonardus Grimanus et ser Paulus Pisanus eques Advocatores Comunis in XL.ta — Joannes et Laurentius Scarpaza fratres filii Francisci Scarpaza piscatoris de contrata sancti Nicolai, contrabannerii, qui hoc anno ex navi Syrie, patrono Dominico Blancho ultrascripto ellevarunt contrabannum..... — (Ibid. Avogaria del Comun. Raspe. Registro 18, carta 77 tergo).

8) 1523, 29 octobris — Ego Laurentius Scarpaza filius quondam ser Francisci de confinio

sancti Raphaelis..... volo meos fidei commissarios imprimis dominam Stephanellam matrem meam, dominam Ursam uxorem meam..... Item dimitto Aloysio nepoti meo filio condam Andree fratris mei barcham meam..... volo quod debeant amba vel restans gubernare filias meas videlicet Ancillam sopranam et Juliam..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Atti di Bartolomeo Grigis. Busta 1210. n. 575).

[9]) 1524, 15 Julij — Spectabiles et generosi domini..... judices proprii..... ad nomen domine Ursule relicte ser Laurentij Scarpaza quondam ser Francisci que quidem vadimonii carta est de ducatis centum et triginta uno et una domo in confinio sancti Nicolai..... in duobus petiis de campis undecim pro indiviso cum ser Alberto Scarpaza..... Item medietatem unius petie terre campi unius cum dimidio existentis pro indiviso inter quondam ser Laurentium suprascriptum et Lazarum Scarpaza eius fratrem..... — (Ibid. Proprio. Foris. Registro 4, carta 71).

1524, 18 Junij — Placeat spectabili viro ad jnstantiam domine Ursule relicte domini Laurentij Scarpaza intendentis tibi persolvi facere de sua dote..... — (Ibid. Proprio. Lettere. Registro 4, carta 12).

(*Separately we find*):

1503, 19 junij — Nicolo Scarpaza — (Ibid. Signori di Notte al Civil. Bolle e Terminazioni. B.ª 120, R.ª i, c. 45 t.°).

1517 — Ritrovandomi exule io Nicolo Scarpaza da la patria mia già anni cinque..... — (Ibid. Quarantia Criminale Fide. Sopraconsoli dei Mercanti, B.ª 151. R.° 1, c. 56).

Vittore Scarpazza (II), Painter

[1]) 1472, 21 septembris..... — Ego frater Ilarius Scarpaza filius ser Victoris civis et habitator Venetiis..... omnia dicta bona..... per venire debeant..... in dictos Ilarionem et Jeronimum nepotes meos et *Victorem* filium dicti fratris mei Petri Scharpaza varotarii equaliter.....—(Ibid. S. N. Zamberti Ludovico, B.ª 1067, n.° 66).

[2]) 1486, 8 avosto — per sacho ditto a fitti in monte conttadi da ser Piero Scharpaza per parte de fitto ducati XIII portoli *Vetor* suo fiol..... val. L. 1 - S vi — (Ibid. Procuratia de Supra. Libro di Cassa per Chiesa. R.° 1).

[3]) 1501, 31 marzo — Mandato magnificorum dominorum capitum Consilij X, vobis Magnifico domino Jacobo de Canali Provisori Salis ad capsam dicimus et ordinamus, che vui dobie dar et numerar a *Vetor Scarpaza* (Vettore Carpaccio) ducati vinti a bon conto acio che lui possa far le spese necessarie ala pictura la qual lui fa per metter in la salla de Pregadi. Insuper dateli onze quatro oltramarin per essa pictura.

Datum 31 mensis martii 1501.

Johanes Zantani
Nicolaus de Priolis et } Capita Excellentissimi Consilii decem.
Paulus Pisanus

(Vol. 4, Collegio Provveditori al Sal, 1482-1514, carta 140 verso).

[4]) 1501, 26 Agosto — Mandato magnificorum dominorum Capitum Excelsi Consilij X, dent et numerent domini Provisores Salis magistro *Victori Scarpatio* pictori ad bonum computum pro tellario quod pingit pro Sala Consilij Rogatorum ducatos X ex pecuniis deputatis fabricis Pallatii.

Datum die XXVI mensis Augusti MCCCCCI.

Laurentius Contaremo Caput Consilij X subscripsi.
Paulus Antonius Emilianus Cap. Cons. X subscripsi.
Nicolaus de Priolis Cap. Cons. X subscripsi.
Zacharias Frisius Secretarius mandato subscripsi.

(Notatorio 2 del Magistrato al Sal 1491-1529, carta 47 verso.

[5]) 1501, 4 octobris — Mandato magnificorum dominorum capitum Excellentissimi Consilij X dent et numerent Domini Provisores Salis magistro *Victori Scarpatio pictori* ad bonum computum pro telaro quod pingit pro Sala Consilij rogatorum ducatos decem, ex pecuniis deputatis fabricis palacij.

Data die XXVI mensis augusti 1501.

Laurentius Contareno Caput Consilij X.
Paulus Antonius Emilianus Caput Consilij X.
Nicolaus de Priolis Caput Consilij X.
Zacharias Frisceus Secretarius.

(Archivio di Stato. Provveditori al Sal. Registro n.° 5, carta 47 [t]).

[6]) 1502, 18 Augusti — Prudens fidelis civis noster *Victor Scarpatius pictor* solertissimus: qui est ille, qui de mandato tunc capitum huius consilij pinxit telarium novissime locatum e positum in frontispitio sale consilij rogatorum omni, die frequentat audientiam capitum huius consilij postulans mercedem suam; et conveniat honori et justitie dominij nostri providere satisfationi sue eapropter — Vadit pars: quod eidem Victori, qui hoctenus habuit ducatos triginta ad bonum

computum tam nomine expensarum quod mercedis predicte dari sibi etiam per officium nostrum salis debeant et mandentur ducati viginti pro integra et completa satisfactione mercedis et expensarum predictarum, sic quod in totum veniat habere ducatos quinquaginta computato omni eo, quod propter hoc habuisset ab officiis ostris. De parte . . . 16 — De non . . . 0 — Non sinceri . . . 0 — (Ibid. Consiglio dei Dieci. Misti. Registro n.° 29. carta 98).

[7]) 1507, 28 Septembris — Essendo di non picol ornamento de la Salla nostra de gran Conseglio de ultimar tandem li tre quadri principiati de pictura, videlicet quello del quondam Alvise Vivarin et li altri do restano, uno de i qual non è anchor principiato: siche poi compir si possi el resto di dicta Salla, che non resti piui impedita, come fin hora è stata; et che una volta tuta dicta sala finita et expedita sia come si convien al ornamento di quella juxta li aricordi di Provededori nostri del Sal. Havendosi etiam per questo offerto el fidelissimo citadin nostro Zuan Bellin, per la obbligation lui ha, de usar ogni solecita diligentia cum la solertia sua de imponer fin a simel opera de li prefati tre quadri, dummodo habia in adijuto suo li infrascripti nominati pictori: pero — Landera parte, che apresso la persona del predicto Zuan Bellin, el qual havera cura de tali opera el sia azonto *maistro Vector dicto Scarpaza* cum salario de ducati 5 al mese, maistro Vector quondam Mathio cum ducati 4 al mese, et Hieronimo depentor cum ducati do al mese i qual siano diligenti e soleciti in adiuto dil predicto ser Zuan Bellin, in depenzer di predicti quadri: siche ben et diligentemente cum quella piu presteza di tempo possibel siano compiti. I salarij di qual tre maistri pictori soprascripti cum le spese di colori et altro occorrera, pagar si debano di danari de la casa granda per loffitio nostro di Sal. Hoc per expressum declarato, quod dicti pictores provisionati teneatur et obbligati sint laborare de continuo et omni die, ut dicti tres quadri quantum celerrime perficiantur et sint ipsi provisionati at beneplacitum huius Consilij. De parte . . . 23 — De non . . . 3 — Non sinceri . . . 0 — (Ibid. Consiglio dei Dieci. Misti, R.° 31, carta 154 verso; e vol. 4, Collegio Provveditori al Sal, 1482-1514. carta 183 verso).

[8]) 1507 (8), 7 febbraio — El fo fatto lallezion de dar el nostro penello al piuj sufizientte depenttor che fosse nela terra..... dove el se mese alla prova i sottoscritti; Ser Benetto Diana de sj balotte n.° 8 de no n.° 4 — Ser *Vettor Scarpaza* de sj balotte n.° 6 de no n.° 6 — Adj 13 frever fo fatto linstromento. — (Ibid. Scuola Grande di S. Maria della Carità. Notatorio 253).

[9]) 1508, 11 Decembre — ser Lazaro Bastian, ser *Vettor Scarpaza*, e ser Vettor de Mathio per nominati da ser Zuan Bellin depentori, constituidi alla presentia di Magnifici Signori messer Caroso de chà da Pesaro, messer Zuan Zentani, messer Marin Gritti et messer Alvise Sanudo, dignissimi proveditori al Sal, come deputati electi di pintori a vedere quello pol valer la pictura facta sopra la faza davanti del fontego di Todeschi facta per maistro Zorzi da Castel francho; et zurati d'achordo dixeno a juditio. A parer suo meritar el ditto maestro per dicta pictura ducati cento et cinquanta in tutto.—« Die dicta. Col consenso del prefato maistro Zorzi gli furono dati ducati 130 ». — (Ibid. Magistrato al Sal. Notatorio. R.° 6, carta 95).

[10]) Al Marchese di Mantova Francesco Gonzaga, Illmo Segnor mio: ne li passati giorni fu uno ad me incognito guidato da alcuni per veder uno Jerusalem il qual io ho facto. Unde subito da lui veduto con somma instantia procurava io gel volesse vender, imperhoche el cognosceva esser cossa de gran contento et satisfatione. Finalmente concluso il mercato cum il dar de la fede mai più è comparso. Io mo per dechiarirme de tal cossa adimandai quelli lo guidorno; fra li quali era uno prete barbuto vestito de griso beretino, il qual assai volte l'ho veduto cum la S. V. in salla grande del Consiglio; et adimandai il nome di quel tale et conditione: me dissero esser maistro Laurentio pictor de la S. V. Per il che ho facilmente compreso dove costui voleva reuscir, et per home è parso driciar la presente ad Vostra Sublimita per dargli notitia si del nome mio, come anche de la opera. Primo Signor mio Illustre io son quello pictor della nostra Ill.ma Signoria conducto per depingere in la salla granda, dove la Sig.a V.a se digno ascender sopra il sollaro ad vedere la opera nostra che era la historia de Ancona. Et il nome mio è dicto Victor Carpatio. Circa il Jerusalem me prendo ardir che agli tempi nostri non ne sia uno altro simile, si de bonta, et integra perfection come anche de grandeza. La longeza de la opera è de piedi 25, la largeza è de piedi 5½ cum tute le misure se ricercano in tal cossa. De la qual opera Zuane Zamberti so ne ha parlato alla Subl.ta V.a Ben è vero che so certissimamente il prefato pictor vostro ne ha portato uno pezo non integro et in forma pichola il qual ho veduto come il sta. Credo, immo son certissimo, el non sarà ad satisfation de la S. V., imperoche de le vinti parte non sono le do. Se il nostro fusse de contento de la S. V. facendolo prima ad veder per homini de iudicio faciami una minima fede el sarà a li comandi de la S. V. La forma de la opera et de aquarella sopra la tella, et se potria voltar sopra un ruotolo sencia detrimento alcuno. Se anche el ve piacera el sia fatto de colori alla S. V. stara ad comandar et a me cum summo studio exequir. Del precio non dico imperochè il rimetto alla S. V. alla qual humillamente me ricomando. — Die XX Augusti MDXI Venetijs. — La copia de questo ho mandato per altra via acio habia recapito. De V. Sublimità humillimo Servitor *Victor Carpathio pictor*. — (Archivio Gonzaga, Mantova. E. XLV. Carteggio di Venezia).

[11]) 1523, 5 septembris — Ego Maria filia domini Ambroxij Contareno de confinio ad presens Sancti Mauritij Venetiarum..,... Io Veor Carpazio pictor fuit testimonio pregato e zurado. Jo

Jeronymo Bidelli quondam ser Filippo alias sopramaser de biscotti a Corfu fui testimonio pregado et zurado..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti. Atti del Nob. Alvise Zorzi. B. 1078. N. 81).

[12]) 1523, ultimo aprilis — Ego Marieta uxor Dominici de Canali de confinio sancti Mauritij..... commissarios et huius testamenti executores instituo et esse volo ser *Victorem scharpatium pictorem*..... — (Ibid. S. N. Notaio Priulis (de) Zaccaria. Busta 777. Testamento 331).

[13]) 1523, 30 novembrio — per il Reverendissimo messer Antonio Contarini ditto contadi per resto de la pala de legno duc. uno e per cuntadi a maistro Vetor Scharpaza per aver depento la ditta pala ducati 52 in piui fiade, computta uno teler de la Nativita del Signor a duc. 53. — (Mensa Patriarcale. Busta 67. Reg. III. carta 31).

[14]) 1527, 23 Martij — Cum sit quod domina Laura relicta *magistri Victoris Scarpatii pictoris* sit debitrix domini Hieronymi Bassadelli quondam domini Symonis de ducatis duodecim auri cum dimidio, pro resto ducatorum viginti premissorum per eum ipsi domino Hieronymo pro extrahendo de casono ser Zaneti Dandulo ser Vincentium Cauchum marinarium tunc detentum in dicto casono ut constat instrumento ipsius promissionis manu ser Bartholomei de Pedretis notarij publici sul die 28 octobris 1525, et volens dicta domina Laura ponere finem litibus et expensis cum ser Marco Antonio uti procuratori dicti ser Hieronymi Bassatelli patris sui prout constat instrumento procuratorio ad exigendum, componendum ed pacificendum et alia faciendum prout constat instrumento procuratio manu dicti ser Bartholomei de Pedretis notarii publici sui die XXII februarij proxime decursi a me notario viso et lecto..... — (Archivio di Stato. Sezione Notarile — Atti di Notaio Gio. Maria de Cavagnis. Reg. 3345. carta 333.[t]).

Pietro Scarpazza, painter

[1]) Termini pro die lune XX° mensis februarii 1513 (4).

ser Nicolaus a Sole	testes (?) pro die prima juris
ser Petro Scarpaza pictori	quadragesimo.
ser Petrus Scarpaza	testes (?) pro die prima juris
ser Nicolao a Sole	quadragesimo.

MDXIIII Termini diei secundi marcii.

(*Omitted*).

ser Nicolaus a Sole.
ser Petro Scarpaza.
ser Petrus Scarpaza.
ser Nicolao a Sole.

Ibid. Podestà di Murano. Aless. Michiel. 1513-1515. Liber I, Civilium).

Benedetto Scarpaza, painter

[2]) 1530, 10 septembris — Ego Maria filia quondam domini Francisci de Luce, et relicta quondam domini Francisci de cha Massario civis Venetiarum impresentia habitantrix in contracta sanctai Marinae..... T.[is]..... Io benedeto carpaco fo de miser vetor testemonio pregado et zurado..... — (Ibid. S. N. Nodaro Branco Avidio. Busta n.° 43. Protocollo carta 56 tergo a 59).

[3]) 1530, 23 septembris — Ego Maria relicta quondam domini Francisci de cha Massario..... T.[is] Io benedeto carpaco fo de miser vetor testemonio pregado et zurado — (Ibid. S. N. Nodaro Branco Avidio. Busta 43. Protocollo, carta 59).

[4]) 1533, 8 Julij — Constitutus personaliter in officio ser Benedictus Scarpatia pictor uti unus ex commissis substitutis contrascriptæ Dominæ Marinæ de Canali prout de substitutione patet instrumento publico sub signo et nomine ser Ioannis Mariæ de Cavaneis publici notarij sub die 17 februarij 1529. dicto nomine voluntarie se removere a contrascripta nota interdicti facti sub die 3 instantis cum reservatione jurium suorum reformandi dictum interdictum in meliori forma — (Ibid. Giudici del Proprio. Sentenze a Interdetti. Reg. 11, carta 164).

1542, 1 martij — Considerando io Catherina fia del quondam messer Antonio di Martini et consorte de messer Nicolo Sonica nodaro all'officio de signori syndici habitante qui a Venetia in contrà de San Felise..... Commissarij et executori de questo testamento voglio sia..... ser *Beneto Scarpazza* mio cuxin..... — (Ibid. S. N. Testamenti — Not.° Calvi Angelo. Busta 306. Testamento 72).

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